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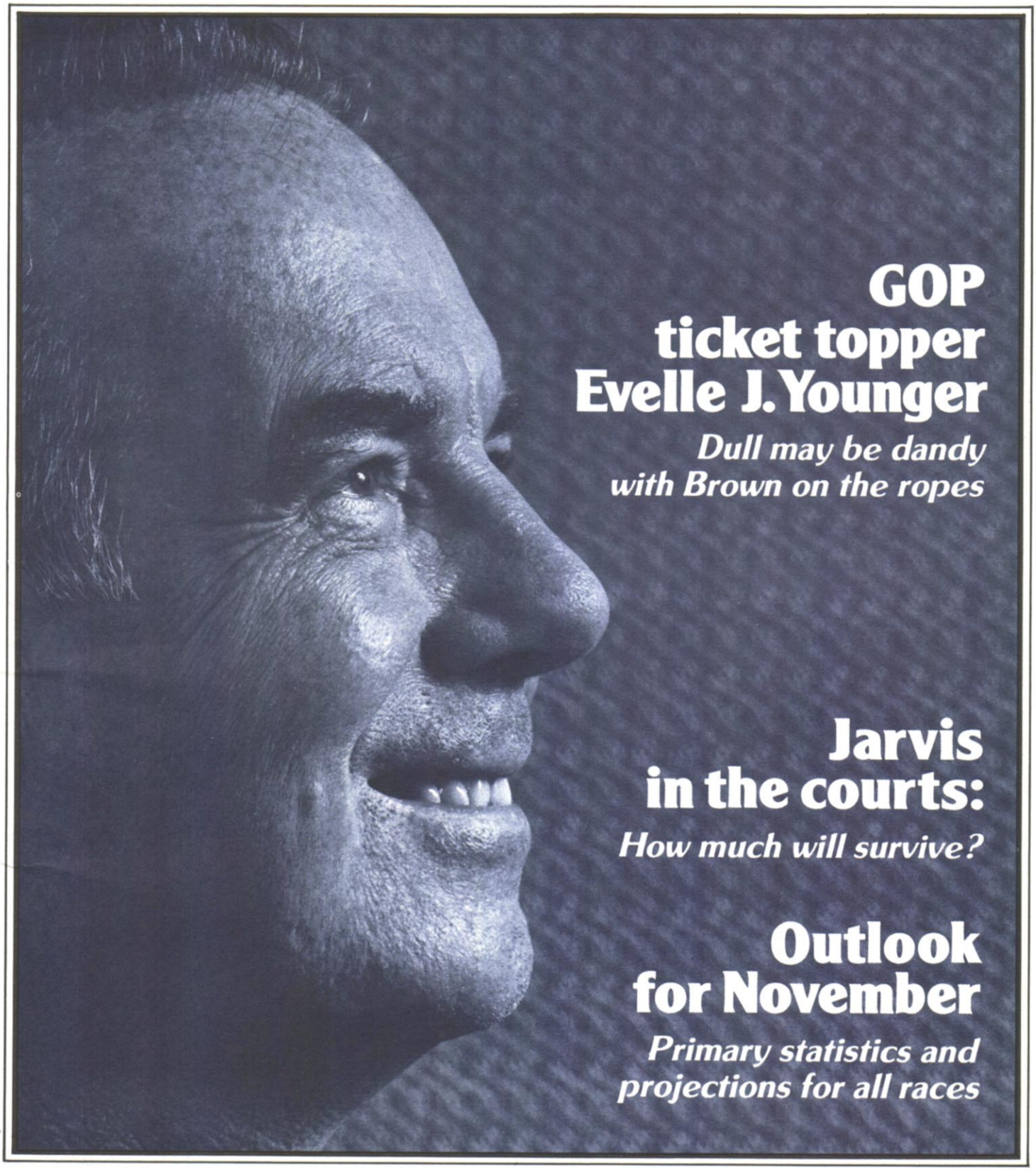
California Journal

THE MONTHLY ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS



GOP ticket topper Evelle J. Younger

Dull may be dandy with Brown on the ropes

Jarvis in the courts:

How much will survive?

Outlook for November

Primary statistics and projections for all races

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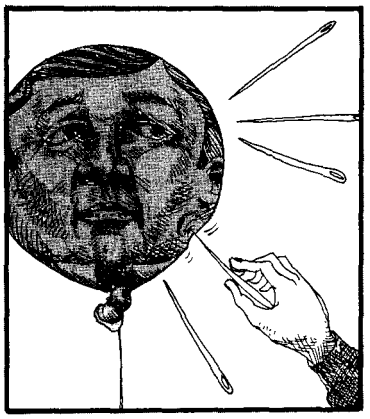
Personal
PERSPECTIVE

By Ed Salzman



Piercing the politician's skin

"Show the politicians who's boss."

That was the theme of the television-commercial campaign in favor of Proposition 13. The idea was that the politicians were responsible for the increase in taxes and the state's failure to distribute surplus funds that had accumulated in Sacramento. And the commercials pointed to junketing politicians as the beneficiaries of the taxpayers' largesse.

Now that Proposition 13 has been approved by an overwhelming margin, who's boss? The politicians, of course. At both the state and local levels, the very same elected officials who set the stage for the Jarvis-Gann initiative are now deciding how it will be implemented. And from the results of the balloting for 100 seats in the state Legislature, it looks as though most of the same old gang of politicians will be running the show for the next two years.

In a sense, politicians relish a Proposition 13 — even though they might be opposed to it on the merits. It gives them something to make their lives interesting. It makes them feel more important. It satisfies their egos to have more people than usual watching their actions.

Life goes merrily along for an elected official who is on the losing side of any issue. The ego is bruised only when the proposal carries the official's name. Politicians have sensitive skin, but it can be pierced only one way — by throwing them out of office. That's how our system is supposed to work. When the people don't like what the Legislature is doing, the voters are supposed to elect a new Legislature. But only one politician was severely damaged by Jarvis in the June balloting — and he wasn't even running for reelection. Republican Assemblyman Dixon Arnett, seeking the GOP nomination for state controller, had the misfortune of having the words "member of the state Legislature" following his name on the ballot. He was defeated by perennial candidate James Ware, who identified himself as a "business executive." (The anti-politician factor may also have helped Mike Curb defeat Assemblyman Mike Antonovich for the GOP nomination for lieutenant governor, but Curb had been the favorite from the start because of superior dollarpower.)

True, three members of the Legislature were defeated in their campaigns for reelection. But the Jarvis mood played no role in their demise. One was under investigation by the FBI, another had virtually abandoned his district, and the third was trying for another term at the age of 74 after first indicating he would retire.

Why don't California voters throw the rascals out when they don't like what's happening in Sacramento? Some may feel that the new crop would be even worse than the old. But the prevailing sentiment seems to be that "it isn't our Joe. It's those other guys up there in Sacramento."

Disgruntled voters never seem to realize that, from their point of view, in Sacramento there are 120 guys (and gals) named Joe.

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Assemblyman Mike Antonovich, defeated for the Republican nomination for lieutenant governor, is already talking about a political comeback. That's especially bad news for two Republican incumbents, Congressman Carlos Moorhead and state Senator Newton Russell. Either one might be an Antonovich target in the 1980 GOP primary. Russell has already lost one head-to-head battle with Antonovich, and he isn't looking forward to a second confrontation.

Good news for developers: Janet Adams, the environmentalist who led the drive for coastal conservation laws, has moved to the Virgin Islands.

The mantle of invincibility has been removed from the Winner/Wagner campaign management/lobbying organization in Los Angeles/Sacramento. The firm had only two campaigns this June — no on Proposition 13 and Burt Pines for attorney general.

Will the defeat of Assemblyman Mike Cullen by Long Beach voters cause an exodus of legislators' families from Sacramento? The issue that finished Cullen was the fact that he had established permanent residence in the capital and his wife took a job as a lobbyist.

California voters have been so inconsistent over the years in their evaluation of Governor Brown, you might say that public opinion on Brown has been Jerry-meandering.

In Washington, they're making jokes these days about poor old Joe Alioto. In case you missed it, Alioto's new wife, Kathleen Sullivan, is a hot prospect to win a United States Senate seat from Massachusetts. Can't you see them being introduced at a high-society function — Senator Alioto and Mr. Alioto?

Until now, Long Beach State University has boasted that it has the largest master-of-public-administration program in California with 1,800 students. With the passage of Proposition 13, change that to 1,800 candidates for unemployment.

Would you believe that the name of the agricultural commissioner in Texas is Reagan Brown?

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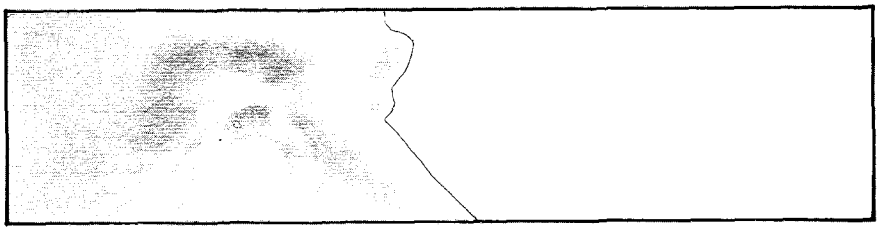

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COVER PHOTO BY EVAN NOSSOFF

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A handy guide to new trends in bureaucratic status symbols

By Ed Neville

It used to be easy for a civil servant in Sacramento to understand the significant bureaucratic status symbols: grey hair at the temples, white shirts with club-striped or paisley ties, tasteful suits of grey and (most reliable of all) wingtoed oxfords with a comforting absence of pointiness. Such telltale symbols identified the wearer as at least a deputy director and, if you had a problem, he had the clout to fix it.

No more. The ponytailed dude in the lettered T-shirt is likely to hold a high cabinet post. That scowling, determined woman wearing a "Save the Siberian Mollusk" button can no longer be dismissed as an overeducated, upper-middle-class housewife with too much idle time. She's probably the director. The fuzzy-cheeked revolutionary Taoist you thought was somebody's nephew piddling away his summer on some kind of an undergraduate internship is revealed to be the ranking member of a critical commission. Most embarrassing of all, of course, is when the guy you asked to empty the ashtrays turns out to be the new chief counsel.

The old clues won't work any more, but there are new ones, and knowing the new status symbols may save some awkward pauses in the conversation.

Plants, Terrariums and Fungi

The thing to remember here is that potted plants require sunlight, water and an amenable atmosphere filled with reassuring dialogue. Terrariums, being enclosed in their own atmosphere, have a much lower social awareness. If you pass an office which leaves the impression of the Amazon Delta in full flower, it's safe to assume all that light and water could only mean a departmental director or higher. (A live specimen of an endangered salamander species among the ferns suggests nothing lower than cabinet rank.)

A generous-sized terrarium showing no signs of rot or mold indicates a conscientious secretary and a large desk — at least a division chief. ***Hanging plants or serpentine ropes of split-leaf philodendron*** require less desk space and care (coffee dregs will keep them going) and typically indicate nothing higher than a bureau chief.

Cactus, bonsai trees or artificial plants mean the guy is gone a lot and installed these durable specimens for effect. He's either a low-ranking field type or a top man in an election year. ***Fungus and mushrooms*** indicate a staffer with limited prospects or poor personal habits.

Venus fly traps and other carnivorous plants or a tank of piranhas indicate royalist tendencies. The guy should be avoided.

Posters, Signs and Pictures

The most you ever used to see hanging in offices was a cheap print of the incumbent governor, a photo of the office resident hand-wrestling with someone, a Certificate of Merit or a poor reproduction of a Utrillo. Today, office wall decor is truly liberated.

A personally inscribed photograph with a totally undecipherable quote from Bob Dylan suggests that an important member of a board or commission is in residence. ***An unretouched, full-color photo*** of Ralph Nader pointing at the back bumper of a Pinto or a montage of Jane Fonda is the surefire hallmark of an activist adviser with a pipeline to those in power.

A poster advertising a "Day" during which the agonies of the "People" are to be celebrated with the help of a rock group with an obscene name, "No Smoking" signs or a pair of stained and bad-smelling jogging shoes on the corner of the desk clearly identify an up-and-coming middle manager fated for greater things. ***Posters of skiing, sailing, hang gliding or bicycling*** can be ignored. These reflect the unrequited desires of the guy who doesn't own a vest or hot tub and who, in many other ways, just can't get his act together.

Miscellany

The following clues are all safe to interpret as signs of power — or at least of being in tune with it all:

- Watch for ***certificates of regular attendance*** from any local university, law school or "awareness" institute. While this may result in the office seldom being occupied, it's a good place to store supplies, pigeonhole a problem or take a nap.
- ***Occult symbols,*** Tarot cards, mandalas, incense and blank applications for federal grants all suggest a special insight into the fundamental mysteries of the Universe — and the ability to explain the benefits of new social programs. Clearly a winner.
- ***Long hair,*** beards, sandals, zithers and skate boards, while still acceptable around the fringes of power, mark the bearer as slightly out of phase. The person might be amusing but, behind the facade, is just as confused as you are.
- ***An automobile of foreign origin,*** small enough to create a crick in the neck and having socially sensitive EPA ratings, is a good clue — especially if decorated with a bumper sticker about "Power" (People, Solar, etc.) On the other hand, any car with adequate headroom, less than five speeds forward and a CB antenna makes it obvious the driver is an incurable Libertarian.
- ***Brochures for retirement developments,*** 1984 calendars with lots of funny marks or copies of the *Wall Street Journal* all crumpled up and flung into the corner can only mean the office occupant is entitled to sympathy but would be of little help with your problem.

As a last resort, if no clues are evident, then ask yourself this question: Might the State Police have politely but firmly inquired about this person's business in the building five years ago, or at least checked his identification? If so, throw yourself on his mercy. He's your new boss!

Ed Neville is a state bureaucrat who has not yet lost his sense of humor.

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GOP nominee Younger - ideal counterpoint to Brown?

By Ed Salzman

There's a political campaign manager in Southern California by the name of Hal Evry who operates under the theory that every candidate he handles should disappear for the duration of the election. Perhaps Evelle Younger should hire Hal Evry to run his campaign against Jerry Brown this fall.

The Republican nominee for governor has a reputation for being "as exciting as a mashed-potato sandwich," as primary rival Ed Davis put it. And Younger refuses to employ any gimmickry to make himself a more exciting personality in the era of television politics. But that's not the only reason Younger might consider an Evry-style campaign. This election will hinge on the public's rating of Jerry Brown come November 7th, and what Younger does or doesn't do during the next four months may be relatively insignificant.

In that sense, Younger may be the best Republican candidate for the year of 1978. Dull old Ev came out of the primary as the leader in the election-day poll taken by a Los Angeles television station. And it wasn't anything he did that turned the voters on. It was what Brown did — in mishandling the taxpayer revolt — that turned the voters off.

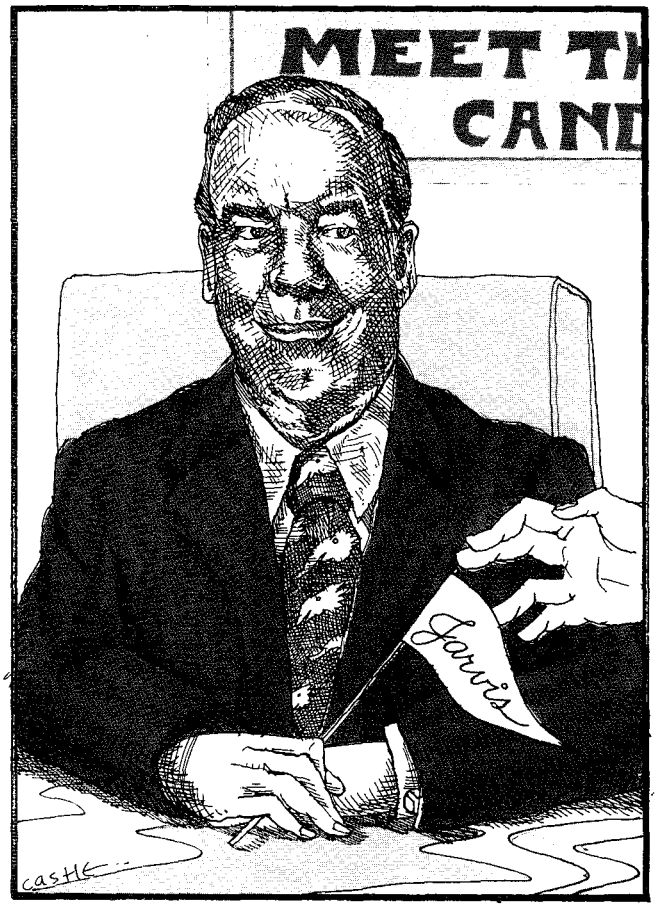
Davis' negative factor

If Ed Davis had won the Republican nomination (and he was the only one within shooting distance of Younger), Davis would have injected a negative factor into the equation. Many voters who were leaning away from Brown might well find the ultra-conservative Davis even more offensive. That's the big plus Younger brings to the top of the GOP ticket this year. He may not do anything to bring applause, but he rarely does anything offensive either.

If Brown should do a masterful job in implementing Proposition 13 — at least in public impression — he may become unbeatable in November. But if the public's disaffection with the Governor continues, Younger's humorless, all-business approach to government might be just what the California electorate has in mind.

In terms of personality and lifestyle, there could hardly be two candidates with more different approaches. Brown is relatively unorganized, shuns many of the perquisites of office, is a master at media relations and likes to engage in theoretical conversations. Younger is quite formal, is usually called "General" by those around him, expresses concern about a lack of material wealth, and is inept at media relations.

Despite his failings, Younger has never lost an election. The secret to his success is that he exudes a strength and competence that leads the voters to believe that he will do the job — any job — right. He also has hugged the center of



the political spectrum most of his life, and that has helped him win Democratic votes and the support of some labor organizations and the Jewish community of Los Angeles. Whatever else anyone may say about the attorney general, he is a thorough professional.

Younger's handling of Proposition 13 was typical. He said he would vote for it but not join the crusade. He pointed out that it would produce a great many problems, but said that the benefits outweighed the disadvantages. Younger also has become known as a supporter of the death penalty, but he has opposed efforts to write an even stronger law by initiative. He has expressed concern with Senator John Briggs' anti-gay initiative, arguing that the issue "bothers me because it can be a very emotional issue loaded with complex legal problems."

Younger, to some extent, employed the Hal Evry theory

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during the primary election. He tried to sit on his early lead in the polls and avoid confrontations with his rivals, which would help them get exposure. But as the race became tighter, Younger was forced to make more appearances, issue more statements and plunge money into television commercials — money he was hoping to save for the general-election battle against Brown.

Younger managed to look better than usual in his basic television commercial. He strode out in front of his desk and pinpointed the three biggest problems facing the state — crime, energy and overtaxation. While he didn't exude charisma, he did look vigorous and articulate. (The other Younger commercials were testimonials from show-biz personality Art Linkletter and former Los Angeles police chief Tom Reddin.)

Those same three issues will probably be the fodder for the fall campaign. Younger was for 13, Brown against it — even though the Governor has been trying to act as though he was the engineer on the Jarvis-Gann steamroller. (Assembly Republican leader Paul Priolo dubbed the Governor "Jerry Jarvis.") Younger will spell out specific proposals to crack down on criminals, and he will accuse Brown of talking tough on crime while appointing softies to judicial and criminal-justice positions at the same time. And there will be a sharp division on the issue of nuclear power. Brown has blocked the Sundesert plant, and Younger wants the state to go on a nuclear kick to prevent energy shortages predicted for the mid-1980s.

In the area of environmental controls, Younger has shifted positions considerably since launching his gubernatorial campaign. For most of his seven and one-half years as attorney general, he has received high grades from environmental groups for vigorous enforcement of the state's tough anti-pollution standards. But Younger weakened his pro-environmentalist stand, and he even refused to represent the state Energy Commission, which has come out against nuclear energy.

Younger knows that the issue this November will be Brown, and his effort will be to try to reinforce the kinds of images that have resulted in Brown's rapid decline in popularity. He will portray the Governor as an incompetent administrator, as a free spender, as an inconsistent policymaker and as an enemy of the farming and business interests in California. Above all, he will make it clear that he does not aspire to higher office and will be a full-time governor.

The public servant

That's not only sound politics, but it's also very practical. Younger is now 60 years old, and he knows that this is probably the last office he will ever seek. Besides, he would have to stand in line behind two other California residents in any race for the White House — Ronald Reagan and Gerald Ford.

Evelle Jansen Younger was born in Stamford, Nebraska on June 19th, 1918. He received his bachelor's degree and law degree from the University of Nebraska. In 1940, following graduation from law school, he joined the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a special agent, working in New York and Washington, D.C. He joined the National Guard as a youngster, serving in the Army in Asia during World War II as a counter-intelligence agent. He later switched to the Air Force and now holds the reserve rank of major general. He is believed to be the only double general in the United States.

Younger moved to California in 1946 and took a job as deputy city attorney in Los Angeles. His career thereafter: Pasadena city prosecutor, 1947-50; private law practice, 1951-53; Los Angeles muncipal court judge (appointed by Governor Earl Warren), 1953-58; superior court judge (defeated an incumbent), 1958-1964; district attorney of Los Angeles County, 1964-1970; attorney general, 1971 to date.

That's a remarkable record of public service for a man who claims he's really not much of a politician. According to Younger, the politician in his family is his wife of 36 years, the former Mildred Eberhard. Mildred Younger, a one-time broadcasting personality, just might have become the first female governor in the history of California. In 1954, she shocked the political world by defeating conservative Republican state Senator Jack Tenney of Los Angeles in the primary, only to lose the general to Democrat Richard Richards. A magnificent political future was predicted for her, but in 1958 she lost the ability to speak because of a rare throat ailment. It destroyed both her professional and political careers. Then in 1975, she had her voice restored through a then-revolutionary surgical procedure. The Younger marriage held together through 17 years with one-way verbal communication, and Mildred says it was only Evelle's support that kept her going through those 17 years. The Youngers have one son, Eric, a municipal court judge who often disagrees with his father on legal issues. The Youngers have even gone public with their opposite views on sentence bargaining, the attorney general against it and the judge for it.

Selecting neckties

During this year's primary campaign, most of the Republican nominees — Davis, Ken Maddy, Pete Wilson, John Briggs — would appear at candidate nights. But Younger was rarely on the platform. Mildred would be there in his place, and she was a debating match for any of them. Younger's explanation: "The best way for me to campaign is to do a good job as attorney general." (Mildred also picks out neckties to go with the attorney general's business suits because he's colorblind.)

Reporter Bill Farr of the *Los Angeles Times* was assigned the task of writing a long piece on Younger as part of a series the newspaper was running on all the candidates. Farr found that Younger was so dull that his reporting ability was being put to the extreme test. How could he write 5,000

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interesting words on Younger? Farr completed his assignment, but the article didn't contain any memorable quotes from Younger, who explained his political success this way: "First, as to color, I don't think I am dull but I suppose I may not be the best judge of that. Whatever I am, the public has confidence in me, and Californians have voted for me about 15 million times. I don't think they consider me colorless, but if they do, they consider my virtues as overcoming that. They obviously perceive me as an honest, competent and hardworking professional, and that's just what I am."

Some embarrassments

If the going gets rough for Brown after Labor Day, he may get away from running on his record and instead begin running against Younger. While Younger gets extremely high marks as an administrator, there are some issues that can be raised that could prove embarrassing. Here are some of them:

• **Geotek.** This issue was raised in the 1974 election by the McClatchy Newspapers and by William Norris, the Democratic candidate for attorney general. It is a difficult issue to use because it is extremely complicated. It involves a San Francisco promoter by the name of Jack Burke who was selling oil-and-gas tax shelter investments to wealthy Californians. Younger claims he bought a $10,000 interest in a Burke scheme in 1975, obtaining an interest-free loan from one Bud Furer of Burbank in the amount of $16,500 to cover any assessments required under the program.

Younger said he supplied Burke with a list of about 24 acquaintances who might be interested in investing. When the program failed to produce income and the note to Furer came due, Younger said, Burke agreed to lend him the $16,500 for 10 years at five percent interest. Burke eventually spent almost 14 months in prison for a conviction resulting from the fraudulent scheme. The *Sacramento Bee* raised the question of whether Younger received, in effect, a free investment in exchange for the use of his name to help Burke sell prospects. At the time, Younger was Los Angeles district attorney. The United States attorney who investigated the case cleared Younger of any wrongdoing.

• **Pensions.** Cartoonist Paul Conrad probably put this issue best with a drawing showing Younger on the hustings telling voters, "I'm running for governor's pension." When Younger turns 65, he will be eligible for four pensions totaling at least $53,000 a year — and that doesn't count any credits as governor. He gets a $42,500 salary from the state, and now collects two pensions — $530 a month from Los Angeles County and $850 from the federal government. Later, he'll be eligible for pensions from his service as a judge and attorney general. Younger can defuse this issue by refusing to collect the pensions or by giving the money to charity while governor, a move he has already indicated he will make. Nevertheless, in an era when there is much complaint about double dipping, quadruple dipping doesn't sell too well — even though Younger has earned every cent.

• **Salary.** Despite his pension entitlement and salary, Younger told the press last year that he was "flat broke" and would welcome a pay raise. After sensing a negative backlash from that statement, the attorney general said he was only making a joke. Humor is not one of Younger's strong suits. Brown, by contrast, has refused to accept a pay raise.

• **Ken Reitz.** Younger's campaign director during the primary was a man by the name of Ken Reitz, who has been identified as a minor functionary in the Nixon "dirty tricks" operation. However, Reitz has been involved in California campaigns for several years, and the Nixon connection has never hurt any of the candidates he has served.

• **Organized crime report.** During the heat of the primary campaign, Younger issued a report identifying 92 alleged organized-crime figures operating in the state. As it turned out, one of the names was in error, and Younger has been forced to apologize. One of the men on the list happened to have given a donation to an earlier Younger campaign. (That same individual also attended a Brown dinner.) Also, some law-enforcement officials are critical of the attorney general's office for not doing more to crack down on organized crime in the state. Younger claims, justifiably, that the federal government has better tools, including wiretapping, for that kind of work. (Incidental information: The head of the attorney general's organized crime section is Charles Casey, Brown's brother-in-law.)

• **Dissension.** Within the attorney general's office, there are some lawyers who are upset about some of Younger's policy changes, especially his shift on nuclear power and other environmental issues.

• **Gifts.** Younger once filed a report indicating that he had received more than $5,000 in gifts, including $800 in clothing.

No shrinking violet

While Younger may be a dull and cautious campaigner, he has been anything but a shrinking violet in his attacks on Brown. And he shrewdly jumped aboard the Proposition 13 bandwagon, putting himself in an opposing position to the Governor on the hottest issue of the year. Yet, Brown will have some counter-arguments against Younger when and if they debate governmental finance. After all, Younger has been on the public payroll almost all of his adult life, and the budget for Younger's Department of Justice has tripled since he took office as attorney general in 1971.

Who will win the debates between Younger and Brown, assuming they are held? There are two sides to a debate — issues and personalities. A candidate can win all the debating points but come away a loser. Brown will have a hard time making Younger look foolish on the issues. Younger has been around the state so long, travels so much to the various population areas and works so hard that he will be able to discuss the details of almost any state problem. How he might react to a slashing Brown attack, say on the Geotek

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The rest of the statewide

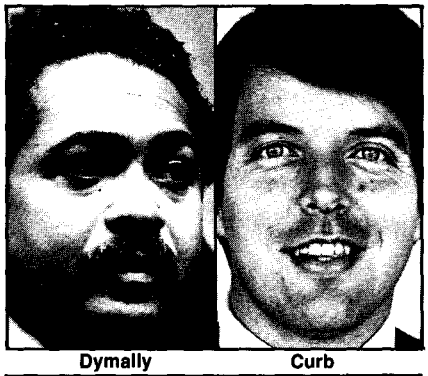
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

DEMOCRAT

Mervyn M. Dymally, 52, has served as lieutenant governor since 1975. Previously, he had been a member of the Legislature, representing the Watts area of Los Angeles.

A native of Trinidad in the British West Indies and a teacher by profession, Dymally was first elected to the Assembly in 1962. He remained there until 1966, when he became the first Black ever elected to the Senate. He has built a strong political organization in the Black areas of Los Angeles and has been instrumental in the election of several other Black elected officials.

Dymally is the founder of the National Conference of Black Elected Officials and is former chairman of the Senate Democratic Caucus.



Dymally Curb

REPUBLICAN

Mike Curb, 33, current Republican National Committeeman, is making his first attempt to win public office.

Curb, who was born in Savannah, Georgia, is an entertainment industry impressario who became a millionaire in the record business while still in his 20s. He started writing musical commercials at the age of 19, and wrote soundtracks for more than 40 films. He founded Sidewalk Productions and served in 1969 as president of MGM Records. He now heads two firms, Mike Curb Productions and Warner/Curb Records. In 1976, he was a leader in the Ronald Reagan delegation to the Republican National Convention but later helped bring the party together in California behind Gerald Ford.

SECRETARY OF STATE

REPUBLICAN

Jacob (Jay) Margosian, 51, is making his first attempt at public office. The operator of an interior design firm in Contra Costa County, he has long been active in Republican organizations.

Margosian, who lives in Moraga, was a supporter of Ronald Reagan in the 1976 presidential campaign but then helped Gerald Ford after the then-president won the GOP nomination. His candidacy was endorsed by the California Republican Assembly but not by the more conservative United Republicans of California.

Margosian Eu

DEMOCRAT

March Fong Eu, 51, was elected as secretary of state by an overwhelming margin in 1974. Prior to that, she represented the East Oakland-Castro Valley area in the Assembly.

A dental hygienist who holds a doctorate in education from Stanford University, she was elected to the Assembly in 1966 and became best known on a statewide basis for her opposition to pay toilets. A native of Oakdale, she is a former member of the Alameda County Board of Education. Her biggest controversy as secretary of state came when she refused to certify the name of Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles for the ballot this year. The Supereme Court put Riles on the ballot but pointed out that the secretary of state had no other alternative.

CONTROLLER

DEMOCRAT

Kenneth Cory, 40, was elected controller in 1974 following eight years of service in the Assembly from a district in northern Orange County.

A native of Kansas City, Missouri, Cory began his political career in Sacramento as consultant to the Assembly Education Committee. He was promoted to the post of chief administrative officer of the Assembly before winning his first Assembly race in 1966. He was a close associate of then-Speaker Jesse Unruh and was considered one of the few educational finance experts in the state. He served as chairman of the Assembly Democratic caucus while Bob Moretti was speaker. His biggest — and perhaps only — political problem stems from

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connection, remains to be seen. Brown and Younger probably will both remain cool under fire, and there is no question that Brown has a better television personality than Younger. He proved that in other states running for the presidency. But Younger has plenty to fire at Brown, and his cool, professional manner may make these charges more credible.

Younger has attacked Brown especially hard on crime. In a position paper, he declared that "stopping crime will be more important than even saving the whales or competing against the United States and the Soviet Union in the space race." He says Brown's appointments in the criminal justice system indicate the Governor "either is not concerned about the problem of violent crime or is incapable of doing something about the problem."

During the primary campaign, Davis made the bold statement that he would cut down crime 25 percent if he were elected governor. Younger refused to join the chorus, claiming that Davis' promise was "overly ambitious" and adding that it would be enough of an accomplishment just to prevent any increase in violent crime.

The safe alternative

Crime, it seems, always is raised as a campaign issue, with Republicans charging that Democrats are soft on crime. The polls indicate that Brown wasn't hurt badly by his opposition to capital punishment, and he has not been conceived as a governor who is soft on crime. Actually, the Democratic Legislature has been much more generous with law enforcement under Brown than it had been under

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slate of candidates

campaign contributions he received in 1974.

(Cory) Ware

REPUBLICAN

James A. Ware, 57, has gone to the political altar many times, but this is the first time he has brought home a bride.

Ware, who owns and manages apartments in Los Angeles, has long been active in conservative Republican affairs and has run for some office at almost every opportunity. He has never before come close to winning and was not expected to win the GOP primary this year. Among his previous races: controller in 1966, United States Senate in 1968, controller in 1970, governor in 1974 and United States Senate in 1976.

TREASURER

REPUBLICAN

Donald French, 31, is making his first run at a statewide office. A mortgage banker in Richmond, he has twice run unsuccessfully for local posts in Contra Costa County.

A native of Portland, Oregon, French has been active in Republican organizations and was employed as a deputy state real estate commissioner in the Ronald Reagan Administration. Over the past 10 years, he has been employed in a variety of banking and finance positions.

French Unruh

DEMOCRAT

Jesse M. Unruh, 56, was elected state treasurer four years ago after a relatively short time out of public office.

Unruh is known throughout America as the man who, when speaker of the Assembly, elevated the legislative branch of government to a level of near parity with the executive branch of government. The treasurer, who was born in Kansas, was first elected to the Assembly in 1954 from an Inglewood-area district. He served as speaker from 1961 to 1969 and is generally recognized as one of the best legislative leaders California has ever produced. He was an unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1970 and for mayor of Los Angeles in 1973.

ATTORNEY GENERAL

DEMOCRAT

Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, 45, has served as a representative in Congress from a predominantly Black Los Angeles district since 1973.

A native of Los Angeles, she is the first Black woman ever elected to Congress from California. She is also the first woman ever granted pregnancy leave from the House of Representatives. Prior to her election to Congress, she spent six years in the Assembly. An attorney, she is a former deputy state corporations commissioner, hearing officer for the Los Angeles Police Commission and an attorney for the McCone Commission investigating the Watts riots. She has been given spotlight roles at two Democratic national conventions.

Burke Deukmejian

REPUBLICAN

George Deukmejian, 50, has been a member of the state Legislature since 1963 and now holds the position of Republican floor leader in the Senate.

Deukmejian, who represents Long Beach, ran unsuccessfully for the Republican nomination for lieutenant governor in 1970. An attorney and native of Albany, New York, Deukmejian served in the Assembly for four years before being elected to the Senate in 1966. He has specialized in legislation in the crime and taxation fields. His full name is Corken George Deukmejian, but he likes to be known as "Duke."

Ronald Reagan. This is because it was easy for liberal Democrats to say no to Reagan, but they have been hard put to kill some punishment bills supported by Brown.

Brown's rapid slide down the popularity chute has been caused by factors outside of Younger's control — erosion of Brown's image as an anti-politician, Brown's mishandling of the tax protest at a time when he was sitting on a massive surplus, disaffection with Brown by some elements of the Democratic party who feel he has been aloof or conservative, distrust of Brown in the agricultural and business communities. What can Younger do to reinforce these notions? Not much. It is up to Brown to convince voters that he really is a different kind of politician, that he really is trying to relieve the tax burden and maintain vital governmental services, and that his administration has been good for the economic health of California.

Younger won the primary because many voters saw him as a safe alternative to Ed Davis. He was the apparent second choice of many voters who might have cast ballots for Ken Maddy and Pete Wilson had either of them been much higher in the polls. He won because most voters have a positive image of him as the old pro who gets the job done on a day-to-day basis. They didn't hold their noses when they voted for him, but they didn't scream with delight either.

If Brown doesn't make a significant recovery, Younger won't have to do much more than he did in the primary to become the state's next governor. And Younger has no intention of developing a Woody Allen routine. Says the General: "I'm not in this business to be entertaining."

He's the ideal Hal Evry candidate.

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Jarvis in the high court: how much (if any) will survive?

The people of California have spoken. The Governor, the Legislature and local elected officials throughout the state have been developing plans to cope with the will of the people. But the real outcome of Proposition 13 won't be known until a decision on the constitutionality of the measure is handed down by the state Supreme Court.

Will the Jarvis-Gann initiative survive the legal onslaught from public-employee, school and local-government groups? And if it does, how much of it will be left standing? There is even a possibility that Proposition 13 will be altered by the voters themselves within the next year, and that could happen before the seven high-court justices complete work on the myriad legal issues posed as a result of the public's action.

Attorney General Evelle J. Younger has urged the court to act promptly to make sure that the legal cloud over the measure is eliminated as soon as possible. But the normal procedures of the court are not rapid, and this is an especially difficult problem for the court — one that might take a year or more. It would take an extraordinary rush job by the court to complete a definitive decision before the November election.

A legal nightmare

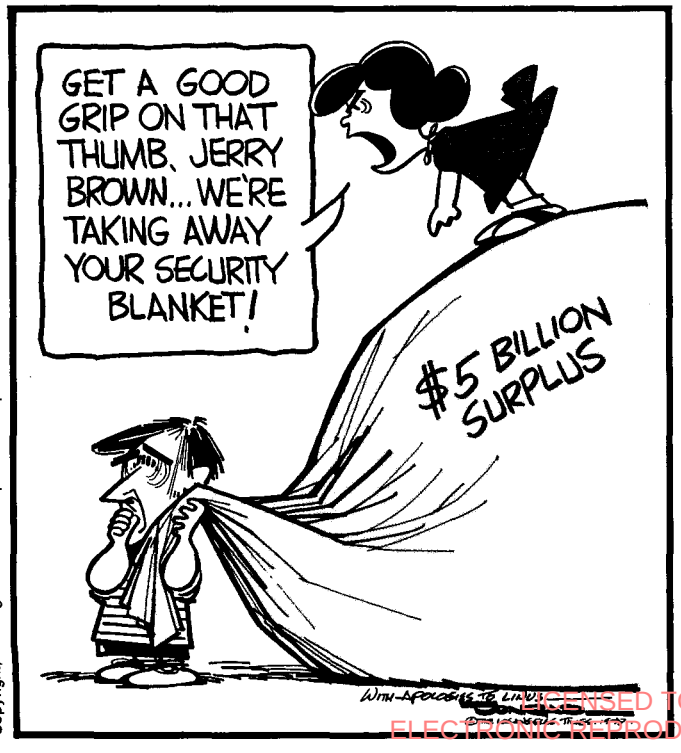
After *The Godfather* became a best seller, Mario Puzo wrote that he would have spent a little time polishing the manuscript if he ever had imagined that the book would be so popular. Howard Jarvis and Paul Gann now find themselves in the same position. Jarvis has tried on many previous occasions to cut taxes or get himself elected to office — with very poor results. How was Jarvis to know he would hit paydirt in 1978? As a result, the initiative he and Gann sold to California is a legal nightmare. Had they known that they were going to succeed, they undoubtedly would have arranged to have some lawyers specializing in government law and taxation put the measure into decent shape. Presumably, that will be done as differing versions of Jarvis-Gann are presented to citizens of other states. As the court starts work on the initiative, here are some of the major issues that must be decided:

- Is Proposition 13 unconstitutional because it is a "revision" of the state constitution rather than an "amendment?"
- Does Jarvis-Gann cover more than one subject, and thus must it be invalidated?
- Is Proposition 13 unconstitutional because it contains enough flaws to make the entire scheme unworkable (even though it contains a severance clause saying that the entire measure will not be ruled invalid if some of its parts are unconstitutional)?
- Can property tax funds be distributed to cities and counties when the measure uses only the term "districts?"
- What is meant by the words "qualified electors" in the provision requiring a two-thirds vote to impose new local taxes?
- What is the status of redevelopment bonds that are retired from increases in local property-tax revenues?
- Is the Jarvis-Gann taxation formula legal? (It uses a 1975 base year and limits annual increases to two percent, but allows higher assessments for properties transferred since 1975.) Or is this a violation of the equal-protection clause of the federal constitution?

The best guessing in political circles is that the court will not have the guts to throw the entire measure out, in the face of such an overwhelming expression of public sentiment. But if ever there has been a gutty governmental body, it has been the state Supreme Court. It has not hesitated in the past to rule popular initiatives unconstitutional. In fact, Professor Eugene C. Lee of the University of California at Berkeley has found that of all the initiatives passed by the voters in the past two decades, only one — the railroad featherbedding act — still stands as passed by the voters.

Facing the voters

But there is an unusual situation this year: A majority of the members of the Supreme Court will be on the ballot in November — Chief Justice Rose Elizabeth Bird, Justices



Editorial cartoon by Paul Conrad
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Wiley Manuel and Frank Newman, all appointees of Governor Brown, and Justice Frank Richardson, a Ronald Reagan selectee. Even without Proposition 13, Bird faces a difficult challenge because ultra-conservative Senator H. L. (Bill) Richardson has announced that he will lead a $1 million campaign to urge Californians to reject Bird. Under California law, the people vote only yes or no on a 12-year term for justices. Should Bird be thrown out of office, Brown would nominate a successor. In recent years, the electorate has always returned justices to office. The courts have generally been isolated from politics, but this year may be an exception.

Assuming the court decides not to throw out 13, the best bet is that at least one key element — the use of a 1975 base for assessments — will be declared unconstitutional. That is because Jarvis' formula would result in two Californians with properties of equal value paying significantly different tax bills. Although some courts in other states have legalized such a practice, it is doubtful whether the California court would follow suit. Should the court take this course, the one percent limit on property taxes (plus funds to pay off bond issues) would remain in effect. But the tax would be applied to the current value, thus producing much more money for local government. The loss under Jarvis would be pared from $7 billion to perhaps $4 billion a year, and the annual growth factor would be much higher.

All that would be moot if school officials — led by Kathleen Brown Rice, a Los Angeles school board member and Governor Brown's sister — succeed in a plan to place a new property-tax measure on the ballot. This measure, strongly supported by the *Los Angeles Times*, would make the Jarvis formula apply only to owner-occupied, single-family homes and not to apartments or business property. It would also offer renters a larger income-tax credit and wipe out the tax on business inventories. In effect, it is a beefed-up version of the Behr bill passed by the Legislature this year as an alternative to Proposition 13. This initiative might have great appeal because it wouldn't cost homeowners a dime, would give renters some direct aid and would allow a continuation of virtually all local-government services. The question is how soon it will be legally and politically feasible to present this proposal to the public. It could be done in a special election next year.

The momentum for this plan gathered strength while the Legislature was attempting to sort out the various problems presented by the passage of the proposition. The Governor promptly announced that a $5 billion state surplus was available this year to help offset the $7 billion in anticipated losses to local government. He also cut his own budget some $570 million, announced a hiring freeze and pulled back a proposed pay hike for state workers. The Legislature formed an unprecedented leadership committee of both houses to expedite the drafting of an omnibus bill to implement Jarvis.

Monumental issues

The committee consisted of Assembly Speaker Leo T. McCarthy, Chairman Dan Boatwright of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee, Assembly Minority Leader Paul Priolo, Senate President pro Tempore James Mills, Republican Senator Bill Campbell, and Albert Rodda, chairman of the Senate Rules Committee. Rodda, senior member of the panel, was named chairman. This committee had many monumental issues to decide:

- How should the property tax income be divided among competing local agencies?
- How should the state assign priorities for the $5 billion in surplus? How much should be subvented in grants, and how much should be available for loans? (Brown

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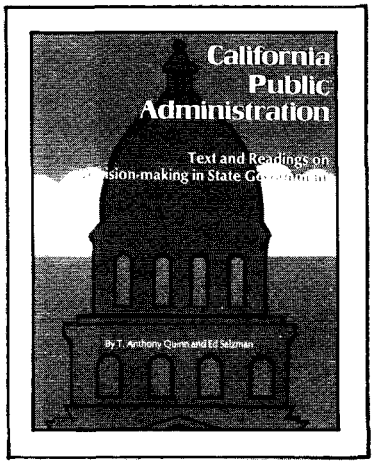

California Public Administration

By T. Anthony Quinn and Ed Salzman

This new book, published this month, describes the inner workings of state government — how decisions are made in all branches of state government, with special emphasis on administrative agencies. Sections are included on the top executives, the regulatory agencies, the Legislature, the judicial system, education and the bureaucracy. The administrative agencies are covered from three angles — those which provide direct public services, those which establish or implement public policy, and those which are essentially internal organs of government.

The 120-page, large-format book also contains diagrams showing the governor's complex, the legislative process, the court system and the state's administrative agencies.

Although this book is designed primarily for classroom use by students of public administration, it will also be a useful tool for anyone seeking to understand how state government works.

The price: $5.25, including tax. Copies may be ordered now from the *California Journal Press*, 1617 10th St., Sacramento 95814. Postage and handling are free on prepaid, Visa and Master Charge orders only.

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suggested $4 billion in grants, $1 billion in loans.)

- Should the state decide which system should be used for any layoffs resulting from 13? Black lawmakers were pushing for a lottery system because seniority layoffs would result in disproportionate firing of women and minorities.
- What plans, if any, should be made for 1979-80, when there will no longer be any $5 billion surplus to use? Brown, with an eye toward November, has called for use of the funds now so that the immediate impact of 13 could be minimized.
- Should the state try to force business interests, including apartment owners, to pass on their property-tax savings to renters and consumers?

It was only after the Legislature made these kinds of decisions that local government would know how it stood — at least until the court acts. It was obvious that the state would give highest priority to the schools and to health and welfare programs. Most school districts immediately announced that there would be no summer sessions, and cutbacks were being implemented along a broad front. It appeared that libraries, park and recreation programs, art subsidies and the like would be especially hard hit.

The California Taxpayers Association, which opposed Proposition 13, pointed out that the enactment of the initiative may give government the opportunity to make reforms that have previously not been especially popular with the voters. Cal-Tax executive director Kirk West listed these possibilities: consolidation of local governmental units, tightening of pension programs, adoption of the "voucher plan" for schools, adoption of laws making it easier to fire public employees, consolidation of police and fire departments in some communities, shifting from taxes to fees for the financing of some public services.

But these are not the kinds of reforms most Californians had on their minds when they went to the polls June 6th. The fate of Proposition 13 was still very much in doubt until mid-May, when many Californians received notices that their home assessments had been boosted by huge amounts to reflect inflation in the housing market. From that point, Jarvis-Gann was a tidal wave that could not be stopped. But the stage was set for passage of the measure during the previous few years, when inflation combined with rapidly rising tax collections to give middle-class Californians fewer real dollars to spend. Actually, the state income tax has risen more rapidly than the property tax — but the property tax is more symbolic and much more visible.

Going on strike

Had the state used the growing surplus to relieve the tax burden and had local agencies better resisted pressure from public employees, Howard Jarvis would have been no more successful with Proposition 13 than any of his previous efforts. People in California were unwilling to listen to any logical opposition arguments. They were ready to go on strike and worry about the consequences later. They did not buy the scare tactics of the opposition because they knew that government somehow would find a way to maintain the most vital services — as indeed Governor Brown has done through use of the surplus. Californians didn't care about statistics showing that $2 billion out of their property-tax cuts would go to Washington in the form of increased income taxes. (Later, the Legislature was told by the legislative analyst's office that another $3 billion will leave the state in benefits to out-of-state corporations and non-Californians owning property in the state.)

Aside from the tax pinch, there is another reason why Jarvis was so successful. The media throughout the country have drawn out-of-scale pictures of the waste in government. Properly, large headlines are given to junkets by politicans, government-financed research of esoteric subjects, outrageous cost overruns of government contracts and the like. The public gets the impression that waste is rampant in government at all levels and that radical surgery is needed to eliminate it. Jarvis offered radical surgery. The trouble is that there isn't nearly that much waste in state and local government in California, and that side of the story is rarely told in the media. The state could eliminate all spending on its own operations (as opposed to local assistance) and the savings would be $4 billion a year — much less than the Jarvis loss. There are only two ways to perform radical surgery on government in California — to cut services or to cut wages of public employees.

Reform schemes revisited

On many previous occasions California has been at the center of controversies over economic reform schemes — Ham 'n' Eggs, the Townsend Plan, Upton Sinclair's EPIC (End Poverty in California), George McLain's pension promotions, Ronald Reagan's spending-limit initiative and the tax-cut initiatives of former Los Angeles assessor Phil Watson, the real father of Proposition 13. Before 1978, however, Californians generally decided not to live dangerously and sent most of these proposals down to defeat.

The one exception was in 1948, when George McLain sponsored an initiative to give his organization control of the state's social welfare system. His proposal even placed in the state constitution a requirement that his associate, Myrtle Williams, must serve as director of social welfare. And it came to pass — but not for long. McLain's operations so angered the public that the very next year, the California Council of the Blind sponsored a measure to repeal the 1948 initiative. It was immediately put on the ballot, and Myrtle Williams was out of a state job.

Will Proposition 13 go the way of McLain's Proposition 4 in 1948? Hardly. It has too much popular appeal for that. But it might be changed significantly if it is limited to homeowners. And the most crucial decision of all will be made when the state Supreme Court starts studying the language that Howard Jarvis and Paul Gann undoubtedly would have changed, had they ever dreamed they would become the drum majors for a parade starting in Los Angeles and Sacramento and playing to record crowds all the way to the Atlantic coast.

E.S.

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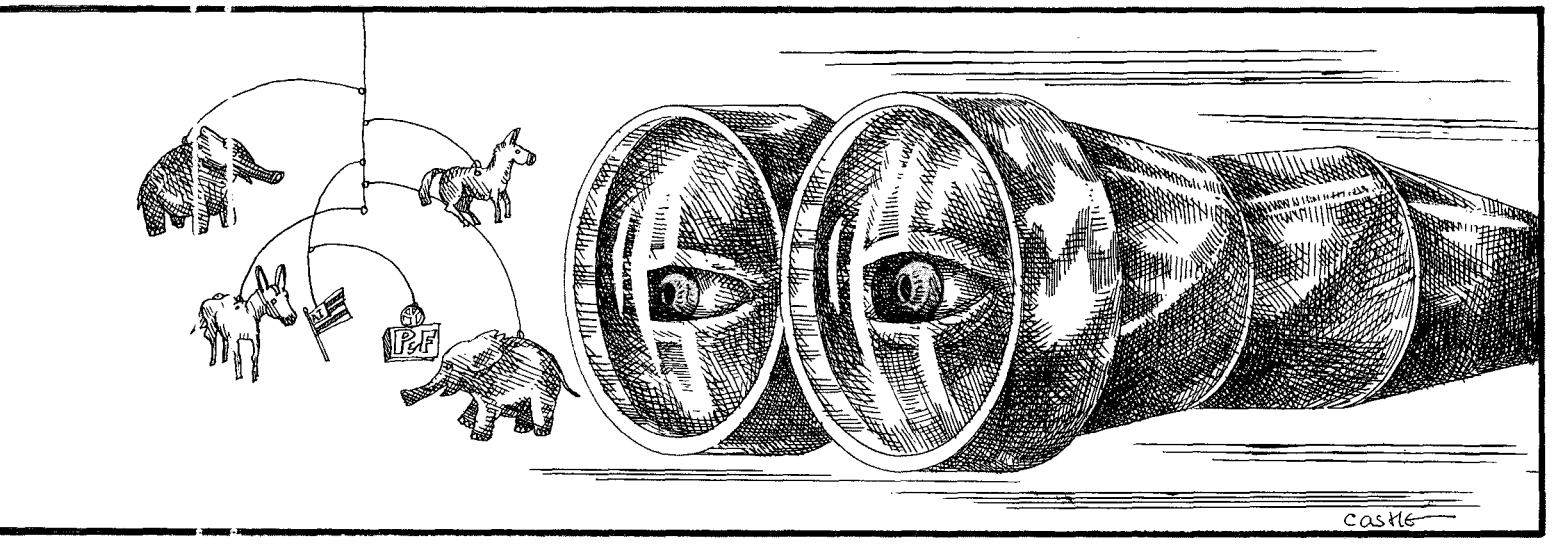

By ED SALZMAN

Just a few months ago, it appeared that Jerry Brown was invincible in his quest for a second term. The large Republican field in the gubernatorial primary seemed propelled more by ego than by the prospect of victory. But Jerry Brown has fallen victim to the Jarvis-Gann phenomenon, and now the Governor begins a campaign for the first time in his life as something other than the frontrunner. Impossible as it seemed such a short time ago, Attorney General Evelle J. Younger would have defeated Brown had the vote been taken on June 6th instead of November 7th.

Mervin Field's California Poll, which was remarkably accurate this year, showed that Younger trailed Brown by a single point a week before the election. A survey taken on election day for a Los Angeles television station indicated that Younger had moved several points ahead by June 6th. The main question now is whether Brown can use implementation of Proposition 13 as a vehicle for breaking the trend or whether he will find it necessary to run a slashing anti-Younger campaign to regain the lead.

The gubernatorial contest, of course, received only second billing to Proposition 13 on the June ballot. The outcome of the Jarvis-Gann initiative was in doubt until the middle of May, when assessors started sending out their reassessment notices. From that point, there was no holding back the 13 steamroller. The generally accepted view has been that the overwhelming victory for Proposition 13 represents a protest against all government, especially elected officials, and against the rising tax burden.

However, the voters did approve one spending proposal, Proposition 2, and the general pattern of voting for candidates wasn't extraordinary. Howard Jarvis and others have tried on many previous occasions to sell Californians radical property-tax-cut schemes and have failed. Why did Jarvis succeed this time? Some of the answers:

- **Californians have lost faith** in the quality of education provided by the public schools. Polls taken by the no-on-13 forces indicated that the voters weren't at all shaken by the threat that school funds would be cut back dramatically.
- **Inflation rapidly escalated** the collection of two taxes — the property levy on homes and the income tax on salaries. Both hit especially hard at the middle class, and the state government amassed a huge surplus which it was not returning to the taxpayers.
- **Proposition 13 gave the ordinary citizen** an opportunity to protest against the way public employee groups and local elected officials were negotiating contracts that dramatically increased the costs of local government. When assessments skyrocket, property tax rates presumably could be cut in a corresponding fashion. They weren't.

Many voters who cast yes ballots on 13 probably weren't especially pleased with the contents of the measure. They might have preferred a moderate alternative, but they weren't about to buy the Establishment's rival measure enacted by the Legislature after the Jarvis-Gann proposal qualified for the ballot.

The voting patterns showed that feelings about Proposi-

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tion 13 apparently ran stronger among Republicans than Democrats. Otherwise, Democratic candidates who opposed the measure should have been defeated or severely damaged by the voters, and they weren't. The votes on the two bond issues were especially significant. School bonds went down, water bonds passed. If the voters were interested in economy at all cost, the water bonds would have failed. Apparently, the main message the voters were trying to get across is that they are mad as hell about how the schools are being run and they aren't going to take it any more.

Why did the citizens of Kern County, one of the most conservative in the state, join liberal San Francisco and Yolo in giving a majority of no votes to 13? The answer apparently is that Bakersfield-area residents hold their schools in high esteem and weren't willing to risk a shift of control over the schools to Sacramento.

The main question for November is how the voters will perceive the job Brown is doing in the aftermath of 13. Will he be viewed as an opportunist jumping aboard the Jarvis steamroller, or will he be viewed as a responsible public official doing his job of implementing the will of the people? The answer to that question may well decide how well most members of the Democratic slate will do in November. An analysis of the various legislative districts, however, indicates that there is no chance that the Republicans will control either the state's congressional delegation or either house of the state Legislature.

GOVERNOR

DEMOCRATS		
John Hancock Abbott	126,277	4%
Alex D. Aloia	66,983	2%
Gene Atherton	79,245	2%
Edmund G. Brown Jr. (Inc.)	**2,532,527**	**78%**
Lowell Darling	61,005	2%
Jules Kimmett	82,168	3%
Raymond Liebenberg	74,397	2%
David Rock	130,936	4%
George B. Roden	124,133	4%
REPUBLICANS		
John V. Briggs	34,542	1%
Elmer L. Crutcheley	9,087	
Ed Davis	721,524	29%
Ken Maddy	476,117	19%
True R. Slocum Jr.	12,245	1%
Pete Wilson	225,301	9%
Evelle J. Younger	**988,084**	**40%**
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT		
Theresa F. Dietrich	**11,968**	**57%**
Laszlo Kecskemethy	8,917	43%
PEACE AND FREEDOM		
Marilyn Seals	**6,171**	

Jerry Brown has proved that he can run a successful race as a front runner, although he was almost nipped at the wire four years ago by Republican Houston Flournoy. In November, Californians will learn whether he can come from behind.

Evelle Younger is probably the perfect Republican candidate this year — moderate, dull, unmediagenic. This means that the gubernatorial election will be tantamount to a referendum on Jerry Brown. And at the time of the June primary, the voters definitely appear to be down on Brown.

Brown's big early lead in the polls at the start of the year evaporated gradually. No longer was the question whether Brown would be seeking a huge margin of victory to propel him into a campaign for the White House. The question was whether Brown would survive the balloting of November 7th. Brown lost his popularity rapidly as he misjudged the potency of the Jarvis-Gann initiative and panicked when the new assessments were mailed to homeowners.

Despite this, the election returns indicate that Brown has not plunged to the point of no return. He did pile up more than 2.5 million votes, and none of his eight opponents won more than four percent of the vote. Brown's job is to prevent Democratic defections to Younger, who for a Republican has always done well with labor and Jewish voters in Los Angeles.

The book on Younger early in the campaign was that he would be duck soup for Brown and that the only GOP chance was with a new face like Assemblyman Ken Maddy or San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson. But the book had to be rewritten rapidly. Younger's fortunes plunged in mid-campaign, after Maddy's early television blitz proved successful and Ed Davis retired as Los Angeles police chief to be a full-time campaigner. But he never quite lost the lead he had from the start in the California Poll, even though he came mighty close to dropping behind Davis. This was the primary election that Davis should have won. He was the only conservative in a field loaded with moderates. He was the kind of candidate Republicans turn into winners — a former Democrat who had never run for office before. But he took his conservative crusade too far to the right. Had he stopped at strong support for Proposition 13, he might have won. But he scared some Republicans by calling for the abolition of the graduated income tax and an American pullout from the United Nations. In short, he advocated the platform of the John Birch Society. The polls showed that Brown would defeat Davis soundly, and it did not appear that Maddy or Wilson could build the momentum to overtake Davis. The safety play for Republicans who wanted a winner was Younger, although the attorney general seemed to generate little positive enthusiasm during the campaign. Younger did score, however, with television commercials that made him seem aggressive and others that employed the talents of Art Linkletter.

Younger may find himself on the defensive in the campaign, especially if the Brown forces feel that it will not be enough to run on the incumbent's record. Younger cannot run as an opponent of government a la Ronald Reagan, because the attorney general has been on a public payroll or two virtually all of his adult life. He must defend his four pensions, his statement that he was having trouble making ends meet on $42,000 a year, and his involvement in the complex Geotek scandal. Yet, Younger has a reputation as a solid albeit drab administrator, and that may be just what Californians have in mind as a replacement for Jerry Brown.

PROPOSITIONS

If this election analysis were being presented in order of voter interest, this proposition section would have been placed first. The struggle over Propositions 13 and 8 overshadowed any of the races for elected office on June 6th. And there were some fascinating voting patterns on the 13

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proposi ion s that may provide some insights into what the California electorate was thinking in the privacy of the voting b oo h.

The v ote s weren't in a totally negative mood. They approved s ev n of the 13 measures, and not all of them were designe d t save money or make life miserable for politicians, a s w s 13. The school bond measure (Proposition 1) was def ate d soundly, with only tiny Mono County favoring it. T he (5 - 35 margin indicates what voters think about the job the schools are doing. But they were willing to spend m oney for improvement of the state's sewage systems th ou gh narrow approval of Proposition 2, a $375-million wa er bond issue. This was a case of the big counties favorin g the measure, despite the opposition of 39 smaller cou nties.

PROP OSI TION 1 *($350-million school bond issue)*		
F r	2,016,429	35%
A gai st	**3,744,308**	**65%**
PROP OSI TION 2 *($375-million water bond issue)*		
F r	**3,061,484**	**54%**
A gai st	2,658,936	47%
PROP OSI TION 3 *(tax exemptions for alternative energy syste n s)*		
F r	2,465,900	45%
A gai st	**2,993,520**	**55%**
PROP OSI TION 4 *(voting on city charter amendments)*		
F r	**2,725,373**	**52%**
A gai st	2,522,054	48%
PROP OSI TION 5 *(powers of administrative agencies)*		
F r	**2,733,368**	**54%**
A gai st	2,294,447	46%
PROP OSI TION 6 *(banning the appointment of sheriffs)*		
F r	**3,217,797**	**61%**
A gai st	2,076,525	39%
PROP OSI TION 7 *(allowing local agencies to form insurance pools)*		
F r	**2,729,755**	**54%**
A gai st	2,376,562	47%
PROP OSI TION 8 *(allowing a dual-rate property tax system)*		
F r	2,923,427	47%
A gai st	**3,286,491**	**53%**
PROP OSI TION 9 *(raising interest rates on court judgments)*		
F r	**2,650,355**	**51%**
A gai st	2,526,592	49%
PROP OSI TION 10 *(tax breaks for rehabilitated property)*		
F r	2,260,228	43%
A gai st	**3,028,620**	**57%**
PROP OSI TION 11 *(taxation in new counties)*		
F r	2,261,903	44%
A gai st	**2,912,395**	**56%**
PROP OSI TION 12 *(compensation of state officials)*		
F r	1,976,741	38%
A gai st	**3,214,751**	**62%**
PROP OSI TION 13 *(property tax limitation initiative)*		
F r	**4,205,396**	**65%**
A gai st	2,289,550	35%

While ap roving 13 by almost two million votes, Californians ca ne within a mere 350,000 votes of giving approval t th e rival Proposition 8. This was either to provide a back p in the event 13 is found unconstitutional, or because on e voters voted for 13 to send politicians a message but fou nd 8 a more realistic approach to the tax problem. Fift ber counties gave 8 a majority.

The v ter s gave themselves general property-tax relief, but turn d t umbs down on three measures offering relief in speci l si uations (measures 3, 10 and 11). Three counties — K rn San Francisco and Yolo — went no on 13, and San Fran is o alone out of the 58 voted against mandatory election of sheriffs (Proposition 6).

The Le gis ature could hardly have selected a worse year to put the proposal for an elected-official compensation commission on the ballot — and right before 13, yet. The measure went down by 1.2 million votes, with only government-oriented Sacramento and tiny Alpine counties giving the proposal a majority.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

DEMOCRATS		
Mervyn M. Dymally (Inc.)	**1,725,711**	**55%**
Patrick M. Fitzpatrick	547,324	18%
Patricia E. (Penny) Raven	678,509	22%
Abe Tapia	172,084	6%
REPUBLICANS		
Mike D. Antonovich	1,056,506	46%
Mike Curb	**1,225,755**	**54%**
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT		
Houston A. Myers	**19,168**	
PEACE AND FREEDOM		
Jan B. Tucker	**6,229**	

Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally is in deep trouble. From the configuration of the primary returns, it appears that Dymally might lose in November even if Jerry Brown wins. Penny Raven's 22 percent of the vote can be readily explained because she ran a strong campaign and even won the endorsement of the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Had Abe Tapia won a significant share of the vote, that might have been explained away because he was supported by Mexican-American organizations. (His total indicated that the Chicano vote was extremely low, as usual, for the primary.) But when a political unknown like Patrick M. Fitzpatrick gets 18 percent of the vote, it is a distinct warning sign for the incumbent. Many California Democrats apparently were voting for anybody but Dymally. This is the product of the recurring rumors that there is something not quite right in Dymally's past history — allegations that have never resulted in court action — and the failure of Governor Brown to take his running mate into his confidence. What this means is that should Brown defeat Younger, California may have for the first time in the 20th Century a governor of one party and a lieutenant governor of another. And wouldn't that complicate Jerry Brown's prospective race against Jimmy Carter in 1980?

Dymally failed to capture even half the vote in six counties, and the unknown Fitzpatrick tied him for the lead in Nevada County. The voting pattern in the race between the two Republican Mikes was also unusual. The loser, Antonovich, carried Los Angeles County by 38,000 votes. The winner, Curb, was viewed as the more liberal candidate and did well in the San Francisco Bay area despite the fact that he was the darling of the Ronald Reagan organization. Antonovich's problem was that he was able to carry only one other large county, Riverside.

Curb, a young music-industry executive, had unlimited financial resources from the start of the campaign. He built a strong organization even before Antonovich announced that he would run. Antonovich, who had been working in GOP vineyards for many years, was able to build a respect-

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able organization but never could cope with Curb's millions. Dymally could face the same problem in the fall — meager resources pitted against the Mother Lode. It is entirely possible that Curb will raise more money for his race than the Republican gubernatorial candidate, Younger, will raise for his. That is because many of the financial angels of the GOP see Curb as the rising star in the party nationally, the successor to Ronald Reagan. Younger hardly falls into that category.

Dymally is one of the most successful gut-fighting politicians this state has ever seen. He has risen to the highest office ever attained by a Black in California, and he has built an organization in Los Angeles that rarely goes down to defeat. He knows how to build alliances and how to run precinct-level campaigns. But can he find the money and the techniques to restore a tarnished image that led so many people to vote for Raven and Fitzpatrick? If he can't, California's next lieutenant governor will be Hollywood's latest gift to California politics, Mike Curb.

SECRETARY OF STATE

DEMOCRAT		
March Fong Eu (Inc.)	**2,563,139**	
REPUBLICANS		
Norrisa Poulson Brandt	411,768	22%
Jacob (Jay) Margosian	**983,142**	**52%**
Steve Nash	502,299	27%
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT		
Valerie C. Seeman	**18,925**	
PEACE AND FREEDOM		
David Wald	**6,406**	

The consensus among those who predict the outcome of elections is that Secretary of State March Fong Eu is the most likely of all Democratic statewide incumbents to be reelected this November. Fong has done little to offend anyone. She runs an office with few problems, and those are rarely seen by the public. And she has a good public image, which probably goes back to her first statewide campaign which emphasized her fight to ban pay toilets.

The Republican nominee, Jay Margosian of Moraga, has been a Republican worker for many years and is well known in party circles. He had the backing of most conservative groups. The fact that Brandt, a community college trustee in Orange County, is the daughter of a former mayor of Los Angeles apparently had little impact on the electorate.

Margosian will have a difficult time appealing to Democrats, and Fong probably won't have to spend much money to win comfortably. Four years ago, she carried every county but San Diego. She might make it a perfect 58 this time around.

CONTROLLER

DEMOCRATS		
Ken Cory (Inc.)	**2,205,888**	**77%**
Joseph O'Green	660,747	23%
REPUBLICANS		
Dixon Arnett	905,455	47%
James A. Ware	**1,019,877**	**53%**
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT		
Edmon V. Kaiser	**18,250**	
PEACE AND FREEDOM		
Elizabeth Cervantes Barron	**6,203**	

Incumbent Democrat Ken Cory was figured to be a relatively easy target for the Republicans this year. His troubles stem from the $500,000 he accepted in loans and contributions from Richard O'Neill and Dr. Lewis Cella of Orange County four years ago. Cella has been in the news a great deal since that time and has been convicted of a variety of crimes.

The man selected by GOP leaders to defeat Cory is an attractive, moderate and articulate assemblyman from Redwood City, Dixon Arnett. The trouble is that the word never filtered down to the GOP rank and file, who saw on the ballot that Arnett was a legislator and voted for the other candidate for controller, James A. Ware. As a result Cory now has an excellent chance to win reelection.

Ware is known as the life of the party at Republican functions. He has run for office umpteen times and never had much impact. He was endorsed by Howard Jarvis, but that was hardly known by the voters in the north, who supported him. Arnett carried only eight counties, and in quite a few counties Ware beat him by 15 percentage points or more.

Cory apparently is in reasonably good shape with Democratic voters. Otherwise, his primary opponent — the politically unknown Joseph O'Green — would have received more votes. Cory ran 10 points ahead of State Treasurer Jesse Unruh, who might have been expected to run ahead of the controller.

The Republican task now is to sell Ware as something more than a fluke, right-wing candidate. Arnett might have been a heavy favorite against Cory; the nomination of Ware gives Cory an even chance to keep his job.

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STATE TREASURER

DEMOCRATS		
William Z. Burkett	983,861	33%
Jesse M. Unruh (Inc.)	**2,016,250**	**67%**
REPUBLICANS		
Donald J. French	**1,395,962**	**72%**
Marna De Mar Schnabel	549,614	28%
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT		
Thomas M. Goodloe Jr.	**18,667**	
PEACE AND FREEDOM		
Lewis J. Shireman	**5,961**	

Based on the primary returns, it would appear that State Treasurer Jesse M. Unruh might be in trouble. But he's probably the most likely Democratic repeater outside of Secretary of State March Fong Eu. It is obvious Unruh will never be able to live down his reputation as a political boss that resulted from his lockup of the Assembly 15 years ago, when he served as speaker. That, more than anything else, accounts for the third of the vote picked up by banker William Burkett.

In November, Unruh will face a young Black mortgage banker from Richmond, Donald French. The Republican grapevine works in wondrous ways, and the word was out from party leaders that French was to be the GOP nominee this year. The fact that his opponent, Marna Schnabel, was a woman from Los Angeles made no difference, and French trounced her in all 58 counties.

This is probably a contest that will be decided by the mood of the voters. If an anti-Democratic, anti-incumbent tide is running, Unruh could be defeated. Otherwise, he should be good for another four-year term in an office that doesn't begin to provide him with the problems and challenges to meet his energy and expertise.

ATTORNEY GENERAL

DEMOCRATS		
Yvonne Brathwaite Burke	**1,626,954**	**52%**
Burt Pines	1,512,099	48%
REPUBLICANS		
James I. Browning Jr.	747,447	35%
George Deukmejian	**1,379,190**	**65%**
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT		
Dallas Wendell Reid	**18,776**	
PEACE AND FREEDOM		
Robert C. Evans	**6,053**	

This was the most wide-open race in the state because the incumbent, Republican Evelle Younger, was not seeking reelection. The early polls indicated that there might be a tight contest between veteran legislator George Deukmejian and former Patty Hearst prosecutor Jim Browning. But Deukmejian had the money, the troops, the contacts and the reputation within Republican circles to make the race a rout. The later polls showed him pulling ahead, and Browning was able to win only seven San Francisco Bay area counties.

On the Democratic side, the contest between Los Angeles City Attorney Burt Pines and Congresswoman Yvonne Brathwaite Burke also went according to the script. Pines carried the big southern counties, except for San Diego, by small margins. Burke carried 46 counties and ran far enough ahead in the north to overcome Pines' southern advantage.

The pattern in the primary would indicate that Burke may not be acceptable as head of the state Department of Justice to many conservative and moderate Democrats, especially in the rural areas. Pines carried some of the northern farm counties, where Democratic party loyalty is not especially strong. Burke now has the task of convincing the voters that she can be a strong and effective leader in the law-enforcement field, even though she has virtually no experience in the field. Deukmejian, a legislator who has specialized in crime issues, won't have that problem. His weak spot is charisma. Burke is almost the ideal candidate for the television era, while Deukmejian may be even duller than the man he is trying to succeed, Evelle Younger.

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

NON-PARTISAN		
Boyd Malloy	284,483	5%
Georgia Marshall	527,331	10%
Richard L. Mudgett	643,822	12%
Linda Nesler	291,104	6%
Alfred Puccinelli	316,468	6%
Wilson Riles (Inc.)	**2,770,290**	**52%**
David T. Uslan	241,010	5%
David L. Walker	230,867	4%

Two-term Superintendent Wilson Riles' biggest political problem this year was getting his name on the ballot. Thereafter, the only question was whether he could be forced into a runoff and what his victory margin would be. As it turned out, Riles didn't do as well as four years ago — partly because of the general public dissatisfaction with the public schools. The election returns also indicate that almost anyone who gets his or her name on the ballot for this post can get about five percent of the vote.

Mudgett campaigned among conservatives and pulled the second-best total. Uslan, who works in Riles' department, didn't make much impact with his charges against his boss. As a result, Riles has a third term locked up without the necessity of a November runoff. But he made it by only a bit more than 100,000 votes.

In 1982, there will probably be a wide-open race for superintendent of public instruction if Riles, now 61, follows through with his announced plan not to seek a fourth term.

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CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION

This looked like the year when the Republicans could make a significant dent in the huge Democratic majority in the state's 43-member delegation to the United States House of Representatives. There were seven incumbents not seeking reelection and a few other Democratic incumbents who looked as if they could be taken. But when the dust settled from the primary election, it appeared that the Democrats had an excellent chance of maintaining their 29 - 14 advantage. The Democrats had 23 safe seats, four probables and only two in the danger zone. The Republicans had 10 safe, two probables and two in the doubtful column.

GUIDE TO TABLES

The election results used in this analysis are from the semi-official canvass conducted by the Secretary of State's office. The numbers after each district are the registration percentages for the primary election. Names printed in **bold** characters are the winners.

Abbreviations: Inc. for Incumbent, D for Democrat, R for Republican, AIP for American Independent Party, P&F for Peace and Freedom Party.

Note: In some districts where there were no candidates for a party nomination listed on the June ballot, individuals may have qualified for the November election via the write-in process.

DISTRICT 1 (58%D - 35%R)

Johnson (Inc.-D)	76,365	(73%)
Loree (D)	10,809	(10%)
Steele (D)	18,036	(17%)
Jan (R)	25,662	(40%)
Taylor (R)	37,970	(60%)

Veteran Bizz Johnson of Roseville can keep his seat as long as he opposes gun control. Auburn forester James Taylor will be next in a long line of Johnson victims. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 2 (57%D - 34%R)

Clausen (Inc.-R)	64,653	
Bork (D)	41,224	(42%)
Hanratty (D)	30,797	(31%)
Lund (D)	12,964	(13%)
Wrede (D)	13,310	(14%)
Sutley (P&F)	592	

Republican Don Clausen of Crescent City has not been put to a difficult test in recent elections, but speech pathologist Norma Bork of Napa County ran strongly enough in the primary to indicate that she might have a shot in November. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 3 (62%D - 31%R)

Gualco (D)	29,909	(29%)
Isenberg (D)	29,108	(28%)
Lenci (D)	2,133	(2%)
Matsui (D)	36,989	(36%)
McGann (D)	4,674	(5%)
Murphy (R)	20,851	(37%)
Smoley (R)	35,311	(63%)

This was one of the most bitterly fought races in the state, with three major candidates banging away at each other – Assemblyman Eugene Gualco, Sacramento Mayor Phil Isenberg and Councilman Robert Matsui. Had Isenberg won, the Republican nominee, Sacramento County Supervisor Sandra Smoley, might have had a superb chance in November because she would have been able to pit her moderate philosophy against Isenberg's liberalism. No such luck for the Republicans. Councilman Matsui, the moderate, won the Democratic primary with a massive expenditure of funds for television commercials, with strong backing from the Asian community and with a host of volunteers. Isenberg helped Matsui with a slashing attack on Gualco, who had been the early leader in private polls. Smoley is the best possible GOP candidate for the district, but Matsui should win. He will have the backing of the retiring incumbent, dean of the delegation John Moss. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 4 (63%D - 27%R)

Asera (D)	7,250	(9%)
Colby (D)	7,697	(9%)
Fazio (D)	47,084	(57%)
Hansen (D)	20,455	(22%)
Dehr (R)	9,319	(23%)
Hime (R)	14,933	(37%)
Jones (R)	8,898	(22%)
Keller (R)	7,414	(18%)

The retirement of vulnerable incumbent Robert Leggett was a blow to Republican hopes. Assemblyman Vic Fazio was an easy winner in the primary despite a large outlay of cash by David Hansen, a Davis professor.

BOARD OF EQUALIZATION

In normal years, the public pays little attention to races for Board of Equalization. This year may be the exception because the board is involved in the implementation of the Jarvis-Gann initiative. Among other things, the board is responsible for supervising the assessment of property in the state, and board actions during the next few months may put it into the limelight. That could spell trouble for one or two of the incumbents seeking reelection.

DISTRICT 1 (57%D - 35%R)

Church (D)	115,137	(17%)
Kindler (D)	49,651	(7%)
Krug (D)	44,478	(7%)
Reilly (Inc.-D)	370,078	(55%)
Scott (D)	96,712	(14%)
Arklin (R)	182,803	(38%)
Bagdonas (R)	108,205	(23%)
Donaldson (R)	89,362	(19%)
Gayman (R)	47,270	(10%)
Hatlin (R)	51,705	(11%)
Radcliffe (P&F)	2,078	

The issue here is the age (75) and longevity (since 1939) of incumbent Democrat George Reilly of San Francisco. He polled only 55 percent in the primary within this mammoth district that includes the coastal zone from San Francisco to Los Angeles. Republican Hank Arklin is a former assemblyman who knows how to campaign, but his chances will probably rise and fall with the Republican Party . This is the second best chance the Republicans have for cracking the all-Democratic board.

DISTRICT 2 (51%D - 41%R)

Christian-Heising (D)	91,997	(14%)
Donohue (D)	101,382	(16%)
Kelly (D)	149,499	(23%)
Lynch (D)	123,184	(19%)
Sankey (Inc.-D)	175,533	(27%)
Blood (R)	24,639	(4%)
Clayton (R)	117,889	(21%)
Dronenberg (R)	121,352	(21%)
Rothman (R)	58,898	(10%)
Schaefer (R)	83,187	(14%)
Sutherland (R)	113,707	(20%)
Ziglar (R)	56,415	(10%)
Barber (AIP)	5,960	

This is an unusual election in two respects. Incumbent Iris Sankey, who won the Democratic nomination with 27 percent of the vote, was appointed to the job by Governor Brown following the death of John Lynch, whose son of the same name was one of Sankey's primary opponents. The district includes much of the central valley, the desert and Orange and San Diego counties. Now Sankey will face one of her employees, board auditor Ernie Dronenberg. Both candidates are from San Diego County, making regionalism a moot point in the campaign. The partisan makeup of the district is such that this is the best GOP shot for a seat on the board.

DISTRICT 3 (59%D - 32%R)

Bennett (Inc.-D)	524,305	(68%)
Ernst (D)	245,369	(32%)
Green (R)	224,030	(49%)
Vandegriff (R)	237,024	(51%)
Graham (AIP)	5,330	
Quaife (P&F)	1,961	

Liberal Democrat Bill Bennett should win in a breeze. He represents a large northern area that includes Alameda, Contra Costa, Sacramento and Santa Clara counties. He is well known for his pro-consumer stands, and his opponent has been charged with election-law violations. The Republican nominee, conservative Raymond Vandegriff of Sacramento, already holds two school-board posts. If convicted of a felony, he might be unable to serve even if elected. His primary opponent, Green, carried Sacramento County by a large margin.

DISTRICT 4 (63%D - 30%R)

Nevins (Inc.-D)	553,510	
Maggio (AIP)	2,897	
McCammon (P&F)	1,263	

Incumbent Democrat Dick Nevins was lucky enough not to draw a Republican opponent, and he should have clear sailing in November.

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Fazio should be an easy winner in November as well. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 5 (58%D - 29%R)

John Burton (Inc.-D)	66,874	
Skora (R)	33,999	

The GOP had hoped to find an extraordinary candidate – perhaps former Assemblyman Bill Bagley – to tackle Burton. Publisher's representative Dolores Skore is a political neophyte, hardly a match for a Burton. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 6 (68%D - 20%R)

Phillip Burton (Inc.-D)	56,700	
Spinosa (R)	18,023	
Heaps (AIP)	277	

Phil Burton, angling for a second try at the position of House majority leader, is watching other races more than his own. Republican Tom Spinosa is a perennial candidate. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 7 (60%D - 33%R)

Miller (Inc.-D)	73,720	
Gordon (R)	29,130	(65%)
Layson (R)	16,005	(36%)
Stanley (AIP)	571	

Incumbent George Miller won by more than 100,000 votes two years ago. He can't expect to match that this time against Republican Paula Gordon, but he should still win by a wide margin. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 8 (63%D - 27%R)

Dellums (Inc.-D)	73,965	
Hughes (R)	35,354	

Ronald Dellums has been a magic name in the liberal Eastbay area. Republican Charles Hughes should get about one-third of the vote. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 9 (64%D - 28%R)

Muscow (D)	17,371	(22%)
Stark (Inc.-D)	62,989	(78%)
Allen (R)	29,835	
Phillips (P&F)	65	

The vote in this district usually runs about in line with the registration statistics, which means that Pete Stark should overwhelm BART director Robert Allen. In Allen, Stark has an opponent who has faced the voters before and who might cut his victory margin. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 10 (65%D - 23%R)

Edwards (Inc.-D)	65,688	
Hansen (R)	15,347	(55%)
Lewis (R)	12,652	(45%)

The veteran Don Edwards is a cinch over accountant Judy Hansen of San Jose. Edwards is being discussed as the possible new chairman of the delegation, should the seniority rule be abandonded. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 11 (58%D - 34%R)

Plough (D)	20,112	(25%)
Ryan (Inc.-D)	59,375	(75%)
Kamsler (R)	12,853	(31%)
Welch (R)	28,832	(69%)
Kudrovzeff (AIP)	407	

The Republicans took a shot at Leo Ryan two years ago and missed. Dave Welch probably won't have as much ammunition to fire at Ryan this time around. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

Fazio **Dannemeyer** **Dixon**

DISTRICT 12 (53%D - 38%R)

McCloskey (Inc.-R)	46,735	(76%)
Zingale (R)	14,657	(24%)
Davis (D)	23,929	(43%)
Olsen (D)	32,313	(58%)
Boylan (AIP)	313	
Fumino (P&F)	144	

Elections come easy these days for Pete McCloskey, now that the conservative Republicans are off his back. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 13 (54%D - 37%R)

Mineta (Inc.-D)	72,073	
O'Keefe (R)	48,967	
Goldsborough (P&F)	128	

Councilman Dan O'Keefe of Cupertino won't lay a glove on Democrat Norm Mineta, one of the state's most popular and most skillful representatives. With anyone but Mineta, however, the Democrats could lose this seat. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 14 (58%D - 35%R)

Lowry (D)	25,505	(31%)
McFall (Inc.-D)	57,859	(69%)
Burton (R)	4,129	(7%)
Castillo E. (R)	3,228	(6%)
Gibson (R)	2,137	(4%)
Kreiss (R)	3,616	(6%)
Pinkerton (R)	11,998	(21%)
Shumway (R)	21,223	(38%)
Van Dyke (R)	10,301	(18%)
Waldron (AIP)	581	

Incumbent John McFall usually carries this valley district with ease, but that was before he became identified with the Korean scandal. Democratic loyalty in this area is weak, and he has a strong opponent in San Joaquin County Supervisor Norman Shumway. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 15 (64%D - 30%R)

Coelho (D)	47,471	(79%)
Lavery (D)	12,676	(21%)
Harner (R)	12,642	(37%)
Patterakis (R)	16,693	(49%)
Sanchez (R)	4,998	(15%)

In theory, this is a district the Republicans should be able to capture. The incumbent, Democrat B. F. Sisk, is retiring, and the Democratic loyalty in this region is weak. But the prime GOP prospect, former Fresno County Administrator Phil Sanchez, dropped out of the race, leaving the seat to Democrat Tony Coelho, Sisk's aide. Coelho has done everything right in putting together a potent campaign. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 16 (55%D - 36%R)

Panetta (Inc.-D)	73,970	
Seastrand (R)	48,623	

Democrat Leon Panetta defeated a Republican incumbent two years ago, and the GOP wants the seat back. Seastrand is the darling of conservatives, but Panetta is a shrewd campaigner who should win again. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 17 (58%D - 36%R)

Krebs (Inc.-D)	59,150	
Mirigian (R)	17,341	(35%)
Pashayan (R)	32,101	(65%)

Incumbent John Krebs of Fresno should win again, but there is an outside chance he could fall victim to a Republican tide, should one develop in the valley. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 18 (56%D - 38%R)

Ketchum (Inc.-R)	50,930	
Sogge (D)	53,243	

The death of incumbent Bill Ketchum less than three weeks after the primary made the outcome problematical. Ketchum was faced with a tough struggle against Bob Sogge, aid to Senator Walter Stiern. Now the GOP central committees in four counties must pick a substitute. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 19 (54%D - 36%R)

Lagomarsino (Inc.-R)	60,769	
Zamos (D)	58,425	
Takei (P&F)	235	

Republican Bob Lagomarsino glides to reelection every two years without apparent effort. This year will be no different. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 20 (49%D - 44%R)

Goldwater (Inc.-R)	82,669	
Blansfield (D)	26,947	(36%)
Lear (D)	47,765	(64%)

Republican Barry Goldwater Jr. defeated Pat Lear, then Patti Lear Corman, by a huge margin two years ago. The outcome should be about the same this time around. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 21 (63%D - 31%R)

Corman (Inc.-D)	61,946	
Fox (R)	8,501	(24%)
Petrello (R)	11,774	(33%)
Walsh (R)	15,341	(43%)
Hill (P&F)	156	

Businessman Rod Walsh has been campaigning as though he thought he had a chance of knocking off the entrenched

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McFall Ketchum Hannaford Dornan Pannetta

James Corman. The district is too Democratic for that to happen. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 22 (45%D - 48%R)

Moorhead (Inc.-R)	63,405	(81%)
Hereford (R)	15,138	(19%)
Henry (D)	46,142	

No Democrat will be able to defeat Carlos Moorhead in this Pasadena-Glendale district. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 23 (64%D - 29%R)

Krist (D)	19,498	(20%)
Beilenson (Inc.-D)	80,246	(81%)
Barbara (R)	39,253	

Incumbent Tony Beilenson will romp once again. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 24 (62%D - 29%R)

Massey (D)	13,938	(20%)
Waxman (Inc.-D)	57,527	(81%)
Cayard (R)	10,482	(32%)
Schaefer (R)	22,575	(68%)
Peters (P&F)	220	

Nobody knows how to run a Los Angeles political campaign better than Henry Waxman and associates. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 25 (71%D - 21%R)

Roybal (Inc.-D)	38,139	
Watson (R)	11,065	

The voter turnout shows how strongly Chicano this district is, and that means another term for the veteran Ed Roybal. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 26 (47%D - 47%R)

Rousselot (Inc.-R)	64,053	

Republican John Rousselot is one of the most popular members of the California congressional delegation, even among Democrats. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 27 (50%D - 41%R)

Dornan (Inc.-R)	68,254	
Colman (D)	17,871	(25%)
Allen (D)	6,271	(9%)
Peck (D)	47,149	(66%)

Republican Bob Dornan, an outspoken conservative, defeated Democrat Gary Familian two years ago in the state's most expensive and most vicious race. Although this is essentially Republican territory, the Democrats are making a major effort to defeat Dornan this year with Carey Peck, son of actor Gregory Peck. Dornan should remain king of the Los Angeles coast. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 28 (76%D - 17%)

Cunningham (D)	5,255	(6%)
Dixon (D)	42,350	(48%)
Holden (D)	29,588	(34%)
Jackson (D)	422	(1%)
C. Lofton (D)	1,540	(2%)
L. Lofton (D)	977	(1%)
Mergell (D)	6,457	(7%)
Wilson (D)	1,589	(2%)

A battle royale resulted from the decision of Congresswoman Yvonne Brathwaite Burke to run for attorney general. Assemblyman Julian Dixon pulled far ahead of the field with the assistance of the Democratic leaders in Sacramento and the expertise of the Waxman-Berman organization. The early leader, state Senator Nate Holden, ran a poor second, and City Councilman David Cunningham of Los Angeles ran fourth behind Mayor Merle Mergell of Inglewood. The primary was the whole ball game. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 29 (85%D - 11%R)

Hawkins (Inc.-D)	58,280	
Fields (R)	6,156	

Veteran Augustus Hawkins, 71, can have this seat as long as he can breathe. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 30 (72%D - 22%R)

Danielson (Inc.-D)	53,021	
Ares (R)	16,071	

Democrat George Danielson of Monterey Park won't be tested this year. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 31 (75%D - 19%R)

Ainsworth (D)	2,607	(4%)
Bingham (D)	4,857	(8%)
Henschel (D)	4,078	(7%)
Joseph (D)	2,221	(4%)
Olson (D)	1,205	(2%)
Rice (D)	7,822	(13%)
Don Wilson (D)	12,748	(22%)
Charles Wilson (Inc.-D)	23,444	(40%)
Grimshaw (R)	8,477	(64%)
Odoi (R)	4,907	(37%)

Incumbent Charles Wilson, one of the champion junketeers in Congress, probably would have been defeated this year in the primary had not so many candidates thought he would be easy pickings, especially after his name became linked to the Korean scandal. But the incumbent now appears to have survived, and it is doubtful whether Republican Don Grimshaw can win enough Democratic votes to take Wilson in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 32 (65%D - 28%R)

Anderson (Inc.-D)	55,039	
Mathison (R)	23,335	
Bader (AIP)	355	

This district is too Democratic for the GOP to defeat former Lieutenant Governor Glenn Anderson.

DISTRICT 33 (55%D - 39%R)

Dempsey (R)	8,898	(16%)
Greene (R)	11,036	(20%)
Grisham (R)	13,302	(24%)
Knabe (R)	4,690	(9%)
Ortiz (R)	1,853	(3%)
Turner (R)	4,140	(8%)
Zapanta (R)	11,052	(20%)
Backus (D)	1,053	(2%)
Banas (D)	4,542	(6%)
Kazarian (D)	15,887	(22%)
Medina (D)	9,303	(13%)
Murray (D)	13,946	(20%)
Patterson (D)	6,735	(10%)
Phillips (D)	1,544	(2%)
Servelle (D)	7,926	(11%)
Smith (D)	3,582	(5%)
Walsh (D)	6,635	(9%)

The retirement of Republican Del Clawson in this marginal district brought all the animals out of the political zoo. The winners are Republican Wayne Grisham, La Mirada councilman, and Democrat Dennis Kazarian of Whittier, aide to Congressman George Danielson. Former state Senator Lawrence Walsh finished a pitiful sixth in the Democratic primary. Either candidate could win in November. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 34 (55%D - 29%R)

Bennitt (D)	24,649	(31%)
Hannaford (Inc.-D)	55,848	(69%)
Jacobson (R)	19,169	(32%)
Lundgren (R)	41,397	(68%)
Stafford (AIP)	412	

Long Beach attorney Dan Lundgren came within a whisker of defeating incumbent Mark Hannaford two years ago. Hannaford claims he is in better shape for the rematch, but he will be a prime GOP target. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 35 (53%D - 41%R)

Lloyd (Inc.-D)	59,874	
Dreier (R)	22,872	(42%)
Feldman (R)	12,988	(24%)
Stephens (R)	12,766	(23%)
Sumrall (R)	6,443	(12%)

This is a district the Republicans think should be theirs. Democrat Jim Lloyd won reelection by 11,100 votes two years ago, now faces Claremont College administrator David Drier. The race could be close. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 36 (61%D - 31%R)

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Brown (Inc.-D) 59,950
Carmody (R) 30,949

Incumbent George Brown is well entrenched SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 31 (50%D - 43%R)
Baldwin (R) 5,271 (7%)
Ball (R) 8,477 (12%)
Joyner (R) 10,497 (15%)
Lewis (R) 39,737 (55%)
Mathewson (R) 8,448 (12%)
Corcoran (D) 38,107 (58%)
Monica (D) 27,286 (42%)
Wahl (All) 875

This is a traditionally Republican district and should remain so, with Assemblyman Jerry Lewis succeeding the retiring Congresswoman Shirley Pettis. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 38 (56%D - 35%R)
Patterson (Inc.-D) 52,664
Balsiger (R) 11,138 (28%)
Erdely (R) 8,243 (20%)
Goedeke (R) 12,252 (30%)
Maher (R) 8,815 (22%)

Democrat Jerry Patterson has been running ahead of registration in this Orange County district. He doesn't appear in trouble this year, but you can never tell in Orange County. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 39 (44%D - 48%R)
Dannemeyer (R) 71,811
Droz (D) 14,149 (25%)
Farris (D) 31,621 (55%)
Margolis (D) 12,006 (21%)

This is a safe Republican district being abandoned by incumbent Charles Wiggins, one of the most able members of the delegation. Once Assemblyman Bill Dannemeyer, a former Democrat, threw his hat into the ring, the race was over. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 40 (39%D - 52%R)
Badham (Inc.-R) 93,010
McGuy (D) 50,986

Incumbent Bob Badham has the good fortune of representing the most Republican district in the state. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 41 (49%D - 40%R)
Wilson (Inc.-R) 64,630
Dobyns (D) 8,284 (12%)
French (D) 29,702 (44%)
Golden (D) 30,272 (44%)

Incumbent Bob Wilson defeated King Golden Jr. by 34,000 votes two years ago. He should also win in the rematch. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 42 (59%D - 31%R)
Bodle (D) 10,433 (18%)
Van Deerlin (Inc.-D) 46,901 (82%)
Matteoa (R) 25,261

The veteran Lionel Van Deerlin won by a margin of more than three to one last time out. He'll be able to concentrate more on his efforts to reform the broadcasting industry than on his campaign. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 43 (45%D - 45%R)
Burgener (Inc.-R) 82,841 (76%)
Kinkade (R) 26,685 (24%)
Brooks (D) 29,224 (38%)
Gilmore (D) 9,012 (12%)
Skagen (D) 25,936 (34%)
Stout (D) 12,802 (17%)

This is a safe Republican district, the bulk of the voters in San Diego County. The incumbent, Clair Burgener, can keep smiling. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

STATE SENATE

The raw numbers presented an opportunity for the Republicans to make major gains in the state Senate this year. The house is now 26 - 14 in favor of the Democrats, and 17 of the 20 seats on the ballot this year are now held by Democrats. In order to make substantial gains, the GOP had to find extraordinary candidates to tackle Democratic incumbents in areas that might go Republican if the chemistry was right. The Republicans failed to find the magic formula for the most part, and there is even a chance that the Democrats will gain one seat to win a two-thirds majority. Three incumbent Democrats are high on the GOP hit list, but all three must be rated as the favorites. (Only even-numbered districts are being contested this year; odd-numbered districts will be on the ballot in 1980.)

DISTRICT 2 (56%D - 33%R)
Giacomini (R) 57,381
Keene (D) 88,798
Wren (P&F) 589

Liberal Republican Peter Behr is retiring, and the battle to succeed him should be extremely tight. The GOP nominee is moderate Marin County Supervisor Gary Giacomini, who has ties to the northern end of the district. The Democratic candidate is Assemblyman Barry Keene, a skillful campaigner who might be a slight early favorite. The green will flow in this one. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 4 (60% - 32%R)
Dunlap (Inc.-D) 85,145
Nielsen (R) 50,707
Hawkes (P&F) 231

The Republicans have the notion that incumbent John Dunlap can be beaten in this five-county district, and they are willing to put plenty of money behind Yolo County GOP Chairman Jim Nielsen. This is essentially Democratic territory, however, and Dunlap has always won comfortably. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 6 (65%D - 27%R)
Foran (Inc.-D) 69,552
Woods (R) 22,899

This will be another cinch victory for John Foran of San Francisco, who has the political luck of the Irish. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 8 (66%D - 26%R)
Glavor (D) 19,164 (24%)
Holmdahl (Inc.-D) 61,146 (76%)
Colglazier (R) 29,140

Incumbent John Holmdahl should win by more than the registration would indicate. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 10 (53%D - 37%R)
Gregorio (Inc.-D) 67,839
Garcia (R) 32,696 (55%)
Hughes (R) 26,282 (45%)

Incumbent Arlen Gregorio is a GOP target. He won in a walk last time, but the GOP thinks that they have a strong opponent in Marz Garcia, a former Bank of America tax specialist. Garcia will have a well-financed campaign, but his weak showing in the primary indicates that he may have trouble winning moderate votes. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 12 (53% - 38%R)
Hendrickson (D) 19,400 (27%)
Smith (Inc.-D) 53,142 (73%)
Hart (R) 25,691 (45%)
Bradley (R) 31,028 (55%)

Former GOP Senator Clark Bradley is trying a comeback against the man who defeated him four years ago, Jerry Smith. Bradley should do worse this time. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 14 (65%D - 30%R)
Zenovich (Inc.-D) 57,736
Kessler (R) 23,497

At least this time, Democrat George Zenovich has an opponent. It won't make any difference. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

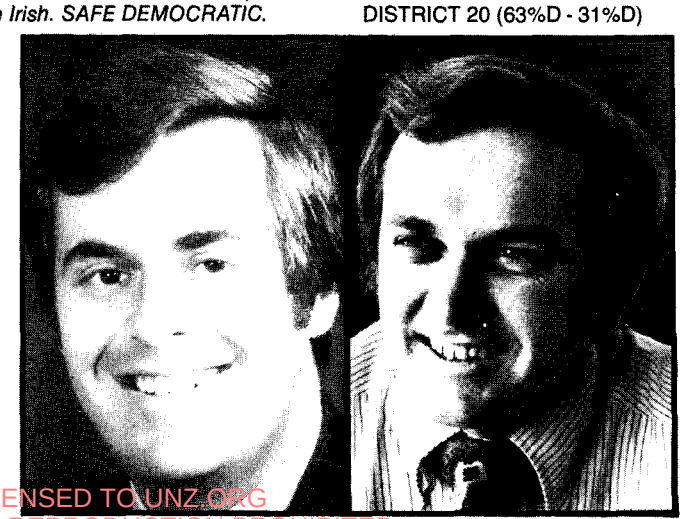
DISTRICT 16 (56%D - 38%R)
Stiern (Inc.-D) 65,856
Duncan (R) 20,801 (40%)
Snyder (R) **32,241** (61%)

The Republicans have finally stopped throwing money away trying to defeat the popular veterinarian Walter Stiern. Accountant Bill Snyder will be little more than a token opponent. Some year, should Stiern retire, the district could well go Republican. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 18 (53%D - 37%R)
Rains (Inc.-D) 71,534
Saucedo (R) 14,878 (24%)
Wallenbrock (R) 46,465 (76%)

The Republicans went hunting for a strong candidate to tackle Omer Rains, Democratic caucus chairman. They came up with a businessman, Wally Wallenbrock of Santa Barbara. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 20 (63%D - 31%D)



Keene Giacomini

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Greene (D)	20,191	(25%)
Robbins (Inc.-D)	62,272	(76%)
Kennedy (R)	35,744	
Lucas (P&F)	138	

The GOP strategists had hoped to find a liberal Jewish Republican to tackle Alan Robbins and came up empty-handed. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 22 (63%D - 30%R)

Sieroty (Inc.-D)	97,182	
Kelly (R)	41,108	

Incumbent Alan Sieroty is invincible. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 24 (72%D - 20%R)

Alva (D)	2,800	(6%)
Avila (D)	4,646	(11%)
Garcia (Inc.-D)	31,925	(72%)
Molina (D)	5,062	(11%)
Hyde (R)	3,442	(29%)
Pietroforte (R)	3,024	(25%)
Weaver (R)	5,462	(46%)
McGlachlin (P&F)	136	

Democrat Alex Garcia made mincemeat of his three primary opponents, will do the same in November to Republican Loyal Weaver, a Los Angeles deputy city attorney. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 26 (68%D - 26%R)

Hensel (D)	22,374	(31%)
Montoya (D)	31,482	(43%)
Song (Inc.-D)	19,472	(27%)
Chow (R)	9,967	(36%)
Duncan (R)	17,561	(64%)

This was the state's most bitterly fought Senate primary and the only one in which an incumbent was defeated. The incumbent, veteran Alfred Song, has been identified repeatedly as the subject of an FBI investigation into legislative corruption, and he drew two strong opponents, Assemblyman Joe Montoya and millionaire businessman George Hensel. Montoya organized a grass-roots campaign that won out over Hensel's media messages and identification with Jarvis-Gann forces. Song failed in his attempt to convince the voters he was being victimized by an unfair press and an irate ex-wife. He ran a poor third. The only way Councilman Ernest Duncan of Alhambra could have won the seat is if Song had finished first. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 28 (74%D - 20%R)

Cochee (D)	18,538	(29%)
Dills (Inc.-D)	45,803	(71%)
Hennessey (AIP)	312	

At the age of 68, veteran Ralph Dills shows no sign of losing his magic touch with the card players of Gardena. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 30 (75%D - 20%R)

Brody (D)	7,003	(8%)
Dean (D)	11,153	(12%)
Ernest Smith (D)	3,932	(4%)
Shirley Smith (D)	6,790	(7%)
Warren (D)	2,492	(3%)
Watson (D)	62,141	(67%)
Moody (R)	19,086	

Despite the large Democratic field, this was no race at all. Diane Edith Watson, a member of the Los Angeles Board of Education, was a cinch to replace incumbent Nate Holden, who ran for Congress. Watson will become the second woman in the history of the Senate, joining Rose Anne Vuich, a San Joaquin Valley Democrat elected in 1976. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 32 (60%D - 33%R)

Ayala (Inc.-D)	58,087
Ridley (R)	36,547

This was supposed to be a GOP target district if a super candidate could be found to tackle incumbent Ruben Ayala. Engineer John Ridley doesn't fit that description. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 34 (52%D - 40%R)

Presley (Inc.-D)	66,774
Stanton (R)	52,968

Although this is a marginal district, Presley is a former undersheriff of Riverside County who appeals to Republicans and moderate Democrats. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 36 (40%D - 51%R)

Cordova (D)	52,097	(74%)
Kuczynski (D)	18,485	(26%)
Brand (R)	7,912	(7%)
Ferguson (R)	21,850	(20%)
Holden (R)	13,975	(13%)
Martindale (R)	10,465	(10%)
Schmitz (R)	44,129	(40%)
Scott (R)	11,537	(11%)

Ordinarily, this would be rated the safest Republican seat in the state. But the situation this year is unique. With Senator Dennis Carpenter retiring, the GOP nominee is the man Carpenter replaced – conservative John G. Schmitz, who once served in Congress and once ran as the American Independent Party candidate for president. As the voting shows, he is a controversial character, losing almost 60 percent of the primry vote to lesser known candidates. The Democratic nominee is Assemblyman Ron Cordova, who won on a fluke two years ago and decided he had a better shot at the Senate seat than at reelection. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 38 (45%D - 46%R)

Craven (R)	100,662	
Cress (D)	30,783	(38%)
Harmon (D)	49,768	(62%)

The retirement of Senator John Stull actually made this a safer seat for the Republicans because Stull had shown signs of weakness. Popular GOP Assemblyman Bill Craven will win handily. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 40 (57%D - 32%R)

Mills (Inc.-D)	56,501
Rickman (R)	30,686

Unless businesswoman Gerri Rickman can ride a Republican or pro-female sweep into office, Senate President pro Tempore James Mills will have another four years to fight off pretenders to his leadership throne. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

ASSEMBLY

The Republicans hit rock bottom two years ago, winning only 23 of the 80 seats in the Assembly. They can hardly go any lower this year, and the chances are good for some kind of a rebound. The main question is how many seats they will pick up. It will take four to break the Democratic lock on two-thirds of the votes — enough to pass any measure. As the campaign begins, it appears that 46 seats are safe for Democrats and four more lean that way. The Republicans have 17 safe seats and four probables. That leaves nine seats in the doubtful category, and Democrats now hold seven of them.

Women now hold five seats in the Assembly, and there are several opportunities for that number to grow. The best guess is that there will be at least eight females in the house next year, and very possibly more.

DISTRICT 1 (59%D - 34%)

Statham (Inc.-R)	36,408	

Republican Stan Statham won a hard-fought battle to take this seat away from the Democrats two years ago, now has a free ride. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 2 (59%D - 32%R)

Bosco (D)	19,137	(34%)
Klee (D)	18,257	(33%)

Montoya **Craven** **Dunlap** **Gregorio**

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Sacco (D)	18,821	(34%)
Dryden (R)	18,387	(57%)
Kimes (R)	5,717	(18%)
Lucius (P)	3,644	(11%)
Potts (R)	4,351	(14%)
Meza (P&F)	303	

Despite the registration and the fact that the district has been represented by Barry Keene, now running for the Senate, this is definitely a marginal seat with the incumbent out of the race. Occidental attorney Douglas Bosco nosed out Eureka Mayor Sam Sacco to win the Democratic nomination, and rancher Bob Dryden of Sebastapol had less trouble winning the GOP primary. Bosco led in only one of the five counties within the district, but that was enough in this tight three-way race. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 3 (56%D - 37%R)

Chappie (Inc.-R)	34,177	
Pharris (D)	35,301	

Republican Gene Chappie has been under the gun ever since he was reapportioned out of his original district. The challenger this year is Yuba County Supervisor Jim Pharris. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 4 (62%D - 30%R)

Brody (D)	1,945	(4%)
Cooke (D)	2,687	(6%)
Hannigan (D)	20,596	(42%)
Kramer (D)	5,685	(12%)
Marchand (D)	15,662	(32%)
Quintanilla (D)	2,681	(5%)
Ketelson (R)	12,362	(59%)
Luke (R)	5,198	(25%)
Van Mate (R)	3,536	(17%)

The large field here doesn't tell the story. The whole ballgame was the primary between Supervisors Tom Hannigan of Solano County and Betsy Marchand of Yolo County. Hannigan is a cinch to replace Congressman-to-be Vic Fazio in the Assembly. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 5 (61%D - 31%R)

Brouillette (D)	2,512	(5%)
Culver (D)	5,865	(12%)
Desmond (D)	3,330	(7%)
Dittmar (D)	2,789	(6%)
Franklin (D)	11,187	(24%)
Hart (D)	3,338	(7%)
Hoffman (D)	6,478	(14%)
Rasmussen (D)	3,465	(7%)
Reynolds (D)	8,211	(17%)
Campbell (R)	6,050	(25%)
Moorhead (R)	18,601	(76%)

With nine candidates in the Democratic primary, only 24 percent of the vote won a probable seat for Ben Franklin, a Carmichael businessman who ran an expensive media campaign and who benefitted from name identification left over from a previous campaign. He should win, but the strong showing of nurse Jean Moorhead in the primary makes it difficult to rule her out entirely. The seat was vacated by Democrat Eugene Gualco, who ran unsuccessfully for Congress. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 6 (62%D - 30%R)

Greene (Inc.-D)	31,028	(57%)
Reiss (D)	23,542	(43%)
Benevenuti (R)	11,679	(46%)
Lucchesi (R)	8,846	(35%)
Paul (R)	4,819	(19%)

Incumbent Leroy Greene survived a media blitz and a door-to-door campaign by challenger Joan Reiss. November will be easier. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

Wornum **Perino** **Chimbole**

DISTRICT 7 (57%D - 36%R)

Waters (Inc.-D)	46,937	

Democrat Norman Waters won his seat the hard way two years ago, now will keep it the easy way. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 8 (58%D - 35%R)

Gage (Inc.-D)	43,951	
Burney (R)	28,662	
Gunn (P&F)	191	

Incumbent Mike Gage won a rough struggle in 1976, and now he faces lighter opposition. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 9 (54%D - 35%R)

Raznikov (D)	22,948	(45%)
Wornum (Inc.-D)	28,630	(56%)
Filante (R)	29,602	
Dias (P&F)	263	

As evidenced by the primary vote, incumbent Michael Wornum is in deep trouble against Bill Filante, a water district director in this Marin-Sonoma district. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 10 (54%D - 39%R)

Boatwright (Inc.-D)	33,725	(71%)
Malick (D)	6,365	(13%)
Williams (D)	7,249	(15%)

The Republicans failed to qualify a candidate for the ballot, and incumbent Dan Boatwright won the battle of the write-ins. As a result, his name will be alone on the ballot in November. Boatwright has been accused of misdeeds involving real-estate investments. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 11 (69%D - 25%R)

Knox (Inc.-D)	34,924	
Eichar (R)	12,779	
Ward (AIP)	271	

Speaker pro Tempore John Knox is a shoo-in. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 12 (57%D - 33%R)

Bates (Inc.-D)	46,180	
Niemann (R)	28,389	
Condit (P&F)	213	

Democrat Tom Bates is very popular in this Oakland-Berkeley district, and he should run ahead of Democratic registration. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 13 (70%D - 19%R)

Harris (D)	15,021	(37%)
Meador (D)	10,782	(27%)
Perata (D)	14,439	(36%)
Roust (R)	7,463	

With the appointment of long-time incumbent John Miller to the appellate court, a three-way battle broke out for the Democratic nomination. Attorney Beth Meador had the backing of the Dellums organization, usually pivotal in the Black areas of Berkeley and Oakland. But Miller backed former aide Harris, who nosed out another former Miller assistant, Don Perata of Alameda. This is the first major defeat for Congressman Ron Dellums in Eastbay elections. Meador also was endorsed by the Tom Hayden organization. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 14 (72%D - 21%R)

Lockyer (Inc.-D)	35,374	
Clark (R)	10,134	
Sargis (P&F)	45	

Incumbent Bill Lockyer disposed of Republican Alma Clark with ease four years ago, will repeat this year. Lockyer is already maneuvering for the speakership should Leo McCarthy depart for any reason. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 15 (61%D - 30%R)

Mori (Inc.-D)	37,295	
Redgwick (R)	18,338	

Democrat Floyd Mori has solidified his grip on this Alameda County district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 16 (69%D - 17%R)

Agnos (Inc.-D)	23,599	(82%)
DeOsuna (D)	5,037	(18%)
Tripp (R)	6,517	
Marlow (P&F)	218	

This is an easy district for Art Agnos or any other Democrat. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 17 (64%D - 22%R)

Brown (Inc.-D)	31,418	
Henderson (R)	11,461	

Republican Mike Henderson is a better candidate than incumbent Willie Brown usually faces. But that won't affect the outcome much. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 18 (68%D - 24%R)

Geary (D)	12,772	(29%)
McCarthy (Inc.-D)	30,631	(71%)
Faulkner (R)	11,772	
Walters (AIP)	126	

For Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy, the primary was a tight squeeze. He usually wins by acclamation. He should win two-thirds of the vote in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 19 (61%D - 32%R)

Papan (Inc.-D)	35,178	
Adams (R)	14,604	
Kerska (AIP)	240	

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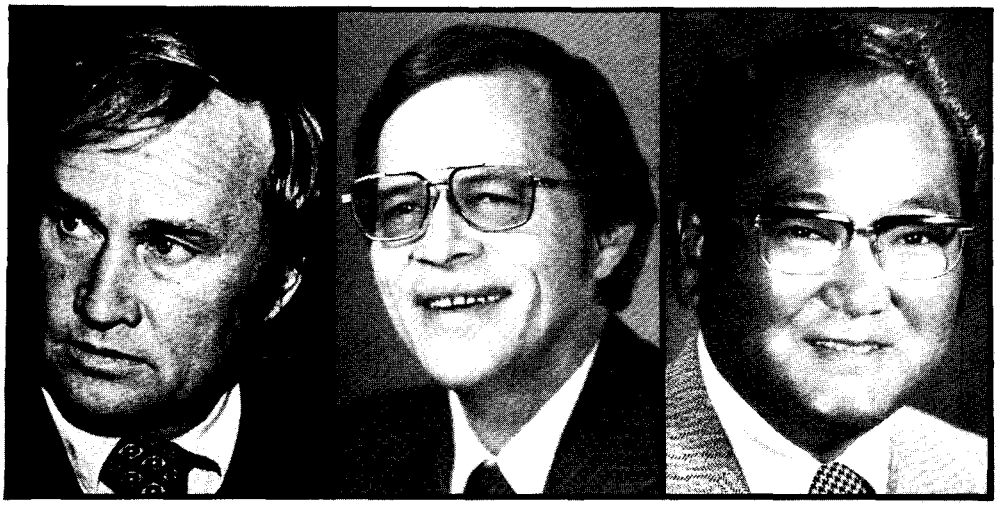

Kapiloff **Wray** **Bannai**

Dorothy Adams, a Daly City school board member, will give Democrat Lou Papan a better-than-normal run for his money. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 20 (51%D - 41%R)

Dudley (R)	9,380	(25%)
Naylor (R)	18,163	(49%)
Norris (R)	9,341	(25%)
Benelli (D)	5,207	(14%)
Bury (D)	14,405	(38%)
Cobey (D)	14,440	(39%)
Riise (D)	3,415	(9%)

Republican Dixon Arnett gave up his seat for an unsuccessful run for state controller. This seat has traditionally been Republican, but it could go the other way. Both primaries were hotly contested, and Menlo Park attorney Bob Naylor must be considered the favorite to win. But attorney Chris Cobey of San Mateo, the apparent Democratic winner (pending a recount) cannot be counted out. (Cobey's father, James, is an appellate judge who once served in the state Senate from a San Joaquin Valley district.) Councilman Bob Bury of Redwood City would also be a strong Democratic candidate. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 21 (56%D - 37%R)

Calvo (Inc.-D)	29,189
Morris (R)	20,153

Democrat Victor Calvo usually cuts into the Republican vote, but he may get a rougher test than usual from Councilman Greg Morris of Sunnyvale. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 22 (47%D - 45%R)

Hayden (Inc.-R)	34,862	
Hammer (D)	22,996	(65%)
Truher (D)	12,413	(35%)
Kernaghan (AIP)	217	

Republican Dick Hayden didn't even draw a Democratic opponent in 1976, and he shouldn't have much trouble this year despite the challenge of Campbell Councilman Rusty Hammer. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 23 (62%D - 29%R)

Vasconcellos (Inc.-D)	28,572
Knapp (R)	13,669

Incumbent John Vasconcellos had a close call in this theoretically solid Democratic district two years ago. He received the message and started spending more time with his constituents. Fences mended, he'll win handily this time. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 24 (57%D - 34%R)

Egeland (Inc.-D)	39,442
Sandoval (R)	22,902

This isn't a particularly safe Democratic district, but incumbent Leona Egeland has been winning it easily. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 25 (64%D - 26%R)

Horn (D)	12,973	(31%)
McAlister (Inc.-D)	28,702	(69%)
Bocchini (R)	15,705	

Conservative Democrat Alister McAlister has no real Republican problem in this district, evenly divided between Santa Clara and Alameda counties. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 26 (63%D - 32%R)

Perino (Inc.-D)	29,979	
Carter (R)	10,837	(49%)
Pendergrass (R)	3,144	(14%)
Wentworth (R)	8,266	(37%)

Former maverick Republican Assemblyman Doug Carter of Stockton was forced to work hard to get another shot at his nemesis, Democrat Carmen Perino. The district is heavily Democratic, but loyalty is weak. Carter will first have to solidify GOP ranks. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 27 (62%D - 33%R)

Thurman (Inc.-D)	30,677

Modesto farmer John Thurman is so in tune with his district that he rarely receives significant opposition or any at all. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 28 (56%D - 34%R)

Mello (Inc.-D)	40,562
Wiens (R)	24,486
Zaharakis (P&F)	302

Incumbent Henry Mello won his seat two years ago by 11,000 votes He should do as well this time unless there is a GOP sweep. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 29 (54%D - 38%R)

Hallett (Inc.-R)	31,017
Kramer (D)	29,025

Republican Carol Hallett could hold this seat for many years. She knows her constituency and how to stay out of political trouble. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 30 (67%D - 27%R)

Bronzan (D)	12,514	(36%)
Calderon (D)	5,553	(16%)
Costa (D)	13,745	(39%)
Jensen (D)	3,368	(10%)
Diener (R)	14,064	

This seat was vacated by gubernatorial candidate Ken Maddy, a Republican. Fresno Supervisor Bruce Bronzan was the early favorite, but he couldn't cope with the expertise of Jim Costa, aide to Assemblyman Rick Lehman in the adjoining district. Lehman himself was elected two years ago after working as an aide to another legislator. Costa should beat Octavia Diener, a wealthy property owner, in this essentially Democratic district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 31 (58%D - 36%R)

Lehman (Inc.-D)	37,119
Marsella (R)	26,100

Democrat Richard Lehman won this seat for the first time two years ago against a strong opponent. This trip should be easier. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 32 (57%D - 36%R)

Duffy (Inc.-R)	23,529
Rocha (D)	22,341

Republican Gordon Duffy has never had a problem with the Democratic registration in this San Joaquin Valley district. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 33 (58%D - 36%R)

Thomas (Inc.-R)	26,597
McTaggart (D)	29,118

The voters of Kern County often register Democratic and vote Republican. Incumbent Bill Thomas should win handily. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 34 (53%D - 39%R)

Apodaca (D)	9,061	(24%)
Chimbole (Inc.-D)	28,610	(76%)
Wyman (R)	28,391	

This is a marginal district in the heart of the California desert, and Democrat Larry Chimbole barely kept his seat two years ago against attorney Phil Wyman. The outcome could be reversed this year. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 35 (52%D - 37%R)

Hart (Inc.-D)	31,851
Holmdahl (R)	28,573

The registration statistics look uncomfortable for a Democrat, but Gary Hart has been running well ahead of his party. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 36 (55%D - 37%R)

Imbrecht (Inc.-R)	29,667	
Albrecht (D)	18,620	(52%)
Forrest (D)	17,110	(48%)

Liberal Republican Charles Imbrecht should not have any trouble unless voters confuse him with his opponent, Ed Albrecht. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 37 (51%D - 42%R)

Cline (Inc.-R)	37,144
Goldman (D)	31,524

Incumbent Robert Cline weathered a strong challenge last time out. This one should be easier. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 38 (50%D - 43%R)

Priolo (Inc.-R)	43,641
Bollinger (D)	35,121

This race has an unusual feature. Assembly Republican leader Paul Priolo is being opposed by one of the Assembly's own employees, elections consultant Roger Bollinger. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 39 (62%D - 31%R)

Keysor (Inc.-D)	31,436	
Frank (R)	7,179	(38%)
Hayes (R)	11,745	(62%)
Engel (P&F)	64	

Democrat Jim Keysor has suffered some

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erosion o his public image, but he should still be p tent enough in this Democratic area to defeat San Fernando businessman Robert Hayes. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 40 (63%D - 31%R)

Aldrich (D	9,466	(21%)
Bane (Inc.-D)	34,745	(79%)
Lefevre (R)	18,014	

The veteran Tom Bane has this Van Nuys constituency voting for him every two years without a whimper. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 41 (46%D - 48%R)

Barnett (F)	14,817	(37%)
Nolan (R)	15,726	(39%)
Rudel (R)	9,336	(23%)
Triphon (D)	23,388	

Only a Republican can hold this seat, abandoned by conservative Mike Antonovich, who lost a race for lieutenant governor. Attorney Patrick Nolan of Glendale won himself a seat in June. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 42 (44%D - 49%R)

Clarke (R)	1,839	(4%)
Crismier (R)	7,179	(16%)
Ivers (R)	19,083	(41%)
Kinder (R)	8,061	(17%)
Rollins (R	2,105	(5%)
Smith (R)	7,186	(16%)
Wagner (R)	812	(2%)
Castro (D	11,609	(36%)
Rostker (D)	7,809	(24%)
Tejeda (D)	13,220	(41%)
Harper (AIP)	187	

Uncle Frank Lanterman of La Canada gave up his stranglehold on this district to spend more time at the organ keyboard. His successor will be Bill Ivers, partner in a department store. The Democratic primary was irrelevant. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 43 (61%D - 32%R)

Berman (Inc.-D)	51,835	

Assembly majority leader Howard Berman is one of the state's master politicians. So why run a gainst him? SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 44 (64%D - 27%R)

Levine (Inc.-D)	44,832	
Barlow (P)	17,984	

Incumbent Mel Levine should be reelected by a wide margin. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 45 (65%D - 26%R)

Rosenthal (Inc.-D)	43,434	
Mikol (R)	9,424	(46%)
Wheelock (R)	10,892	(54%)
Hupf (P&F)	126	

The mystery is why there was competition for the right to lose to incumbent Herschel Rosenthal in his Fairfax district. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 46 (61%D - 29%R)

Roos (Inc.-D)	22,511	
Lovett (R)	4,555	(36%)
Roberts (P)	4,490	(35%)
Watts (R)	3,669	(29%)

The turnout in his district is relatively low, but it always goes Democratic. Mike Roos, a man to watch within the Democratic party, will win handily. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 47 (83%D - 12%R)

Hughes (Inc.-D)	25,845	
Mayor (R)	2,588	

Even the name of Mayor won't prevent the Republican nominee from being embarrassed by incumbent Teresa Hughes. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 48 (84%D - 12%R)

Waters (Inc.-D)	28,565	
Faulkner (R)	3,562	

If a Republican wins 25 percent of the vote in this district, it is a moral victory. Maxine Waters will repeat. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 49 (75%D - 19%R)

Archie (D)	13,566	(27%)
Crawford (D)	1,873	(4%)
J. Daniels (D)	1,631	(3%)
N. Daniels (D)	451	(1%)
Edwards (D)	7,712	(15%)
Moon (D)	1,249	(3%)
Moore (D)	15,622	(31%)
Pachtman (D)	6,932	(14%)
Romaquin-Aquino (D)	1,029	(2%)
Gottleeb (R)	9,079	

With the departure of Assemblyman Julian Dixon toward Congress, this district became a prime Democratic battleground. The race was between Gwen Moore, a Los Angeles community college trustee, and Marguerite Jackson Archie, aide to Congresswoman Yvonne Brathwaite Burke. Moore obtained more organizational support and now is headed for Sacramento. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 50 (74%D - 21%R)

Ebow (D)	4,205	(11%)
Hill (D)	4,813	(12%)
Tucker (Inc.-D)	30,834	(77%)
Allen (R)	8,953	

Democratic Curtis Tucker came flying through the primary, tantamount to victory in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 51 (46%D - 46%R)

Ryan (Inc.-R)	38,863	
Helgevold (D)	27,745	

Liberal Republican Marilyn Ryan won't have any trouble in this Republican district. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 52 (61%D - 32%R)

Balderama (D)	9,165	(26%)
Thomas (Inc.-D)	26,314	(74%)
Felando (R)	10,276	(50%)
Mattox (R)	10,202	(50%)

The tight Republican race is meaningless. Incumbent Vincent Thomas of San Pedro is about to win his 20th term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 53 (70%D - 23%R)

Bannai (Inc.-R)	9,612	
Beaver (D)	8,272	(26%)
Wear (D)	24,138	(75%)

Democrat Cindy Wear of Gardena came close to knocking off incumbent Paul Bannai in this Democratic district two years ago. She may do it this time. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 54 (78%D - 17%R)

Vicencia (Inc.-D)	27,839	
Coxson (R)	4,503	

Sports fan Frank Vicencia has more problems worrying about the Los Angeles Rams, Dodgers and Lakers than about reelection. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 55 (67%D - 24%R)

Acosta (D)	4,206	(16%)
Alatorre (Inc.-D)	18,511	(72%)
Chavez (D)	3,114	(12%)
Feliz (R)	8,863	

Incumbent Richard Alatorre beat Republican John Feliz by 13,000 votes two years ago, should do better this time. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 56 (78%D - 14%R)

Torres (Inc.-R)	17,298	
Blacksten (R)	2,582	

Only a Democratic Chicano like incumbent Art Torres can win in this East Los Angeles community. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 57 (63%D - 30%R)

Cullen (Inc.-D)	13,884	(43%)
Elder (D)	18,234	(57%)
Patrick (R)	13,816	

Democrat Mike Cullen became known as Sacramento's fourth assemblyman, and his wife took a job as a lobbyist. Dave Elder, a Long Beach harbor administrator, thought these were good enough issues to win the primary. He took a four-month leave from his job and went after Cullen. The election wasn't really close. The absence of the incumbent should give Republican businessman Bill Patrick a long-shot chance at the seat. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 58 (58%D - 36%R)

Chel (Inc.-D)	38,548	
Brown (R)	25,599	

Democrat Fred Chel may be looking past this race at the possibility that Republican Senator George Deukmejian will be elected attorney general and he can seek Duke's seat with a free ride. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 59 (67%D - 26%R)

Fenton (Inc.-D)	29,419	(73%)
Ioele (D)	10,859	(27%)
Clair (R)	12,046	

Veteran Jack Fenton announced that he would not run for reelection, then changed his mind. It didn't hurt him with his constituents. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 60 (68%D - 25%R)

Cichy (D)	3,434	(12%)
Gutierrez (D)	5,521	(19%)
Reza (D)	4,584	(16%)
Soto (D)	1,498	(5%)
Stephens (D)	2,213	(8%)
Storing (D)	3,415	(12%)
Tanner (D)	7,993	(28%)
Cluff (R)	8,172	(78%)
Martinez (R)	2,371	(23%)
Guarnett (AIP)	188	

Legislative staffer Sally Tanner emerged from the rubble of this hard-to-handicap field and apparently won the seat being vacated by Assemblyman Joe Montoya, who is running for the Senate. This is probably too Democratic an area for the Republican, El Monte Councilman Happy Cluff, to win. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 61 (43%D - 51%R)

Anderson (R)	3,863	(9%)
Bryant (R)	5,996	(14%)
Collier (Inc.-R)	15,177	(35%)
Mountjoy (R)	18,788	(43%)
Scalon (AIP)	197	

Age finally caught up with 73-year old Bud Collier. Even with three opponents, he couldn't pull out another term. The new assemblyman will be former Mayor Dick Mountjoy of Monrovia, who had the backing of Howard Jarvis and a strong precinct organization. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 62 (50%D - 44%R)

Lancaster (Inc.-R)	29,317	(76%)
Miller (R)	9,080	(24%)
Baldonado (D)	30,283	

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Suitt Mangers Elder

Democrat Sandy Baldonado scared Republican Bill Lancaster two years ago in this traditionally Republican district. She may do even better this year. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 63 (61%D - 33%R)

Lujan (D)	8,017	(21%)
Young (Inc.-D)	30,703	(79%)

Freshman Bruce Young decided to solidify his grip on this district rather than risk a race for an open congressional seat. His grip now is bound with epoxy. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 64 (49%D - 45%E)

Stirling (Inc.-R)	33,975	
Juric (D)	16,020	(46%)
Roman (D)	9,417	(27%)
Valdez (D)	9,293	(27%)

College administrator George Juric of Whittier won the race for the right to lose to incumbent Dave Stirling of Hacienda Heights in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 65 (56%D - 38%R)

McVittie (Inc.-D)	27,383	
Donnelly (R)	14,523	(62%)
Paletsas (R)	8,850	(38%)

Incumbent Bill McVittie of Chino won by 20,000 votes in 1976, probably won't do as well this time against school board member Don Donnelly of Pomona in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 66 (65%D - 28%R)

Beltran (D)	13,097	(37%)
Goggin (Inc.-D)	21,965	(63%)
Wolfinbarger (R)	14,873	

Mayor Abe Beltran of Colton threw only a slight scare into incumbent Terry Goggin, who defeated Republican Tammy Wolfinbarger easily two years ago and should repeat. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 67 (49%D - 44%R)

Hansberger (R)	19,090	(46%)
Leonard (R)	22,726	(54%)
Hauser (D)	31,101	

Assemblyman Jerry Lewis gave up this seat to run for Congress. Water district director Bill Leonard of San Bernardino should keep it for the GOP, but attorney Steve Hauser might be able to pull another in a series of desert upsets for the Democrats. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 68 (57%D - 35%R)

Ingalls (Inc.-D)	26,244	(74%)
Ziebarth (D)	9,044	(26%)
Engel (R)	20,749	

Democrat Walt Ingalls of Riverside should be safe for another term, but he could be in mild trouble if the Republicans carry through with their intention of providing a big bankroll for recreation vehicle dealer Bill Engel. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 69 (47%D - 45%R)

Cooper (R)	5,043	(14%)
Foote (R)	5,689	(16%)
Gaede (R)	9,182	(26%)
Johnson (R)	9,946	(28%)
Ponticelli (R)	5,633	(16%)
Bell (D)	10,742	(35%)
Loumakis (D)	2,216	(7%)
Norris (D)	4,225	(14%)
Shipkey (D)	2,676	(9%)
Young (D)	10,629	(35%)

Without the incumbent, Republican Bill Dannemeyer, in the race, both parties had wild and close primaries. This should be a Republican district, but GOP nominee Ross Johnson cannot take Democrat Paul Bell for granted. Both are Anaheim attorneys. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 70 (41%D - 51%R)

Nestande (Inc.-R)	42,928	
Music (D)	25,417	

This is a safe Orange County Republican district which incumbent Bruce Nestande should hold for a long time. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 71 (56%D - 36%R)

Wray (Inc.-D)	29,880	
Allen (R)	13,009	(52%)
Burrell (R)	2,893	(12%)
Ellis (R)	9,124	(37%)

Democrat Chet Wray won by only 36 votes two years ago. The Republicans will be backing businesswoman Doris Allen of Westminster all the way this time. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 72 (54%D - 37%R)

Robinson (Inc.-D)	22,823	
Brandt (R)	10,740	(56%)
Elkins (R)	8,354	(44%)

Democrat Richard Robinson seems to have locked himself into this Orange County seat. The Republicans used to think they could beat him. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 73 (46%D - 45%R)

Mangers (Inc.-D)	33,678	
Burke (R)	11,554	(29%)
Frizzelle (R)	11,775	(29%)
Gibson (R)	17,022	(42%)

Democrat Dennis Mangers pulled a mild surprise in 1976 by beating a Republican incumbent in this GOP district. He'll have to fight hard to beat the Republican nominee, Chuck Gibson of Huntington Beach. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 74 (35%D - 56%R)

Harrison (D)	11,716	(41%)
Parker (D)	9,814	(34%)
Springer (D)	6,987	(25%)
Bergeson (R)	37,791	(55%)
Green (R)	7,789	(11%)
Matano (R)	2,573	(4%)
Watkins (R)	14,856	(22%)
Wilks (R)	5,542	(8%)

A Democrat, Ron Cordova, won this seat on a fluke two years ago. He's trying to win a Senate seat this year. The Republican nominee, Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach, will replace him. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 75 (50%D - 43%R)

Suitt (Inc.-D)	33,400	
Enstrom (R)	10,058	(26%)
Kelley (R)	28,677	(74%)

Incumbent Tom Suitt was a surprise victor of this seat in 1974, and he managed to hold it in 1976. But he has been accused of failing to report the use of an Assembly staffer in the last election, and that has made him vulnerable. Republican David Kelley, a Hemet citrus rancher, could be considered the favorite. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 76 (42%D - 47%R)

Bradley (R)	17,148	(24%)
Bradshaw (R)	6,232	(9%)
Chamberlin (R)	8,873	(12%)
Frazee (R)	26,528	(36%)
Ross (R)	2,806	(4%)
Skuba (R)	11,273	(16%)
Childs (D)	23,257	(52%)
Maki (D)	21,111	(48%)

The incumbent, Republican Bill Craven, is moving up to the Senate. The victor of the scramble for the Republican nomination, assuring victory in November, is Bob Frazee, a Carlsbad businessman. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 77 (48%D - 42%R)

Ellis (Inc.-R)	38,763	
Davis (D)	32,305	

Republican Jim Ellis won this seat two years ago and should hold it at least until the next redistricting. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 78 (51%D - 37%R)

Kapiloff (Inc.-D)	29,855	
Knoepp (R)	27,729	

Democrat Larry Kapiloff, never secure in this marginal district, faces an especially tough challenge this year. His opponent is Terry Knoepp, former United States attorney for the San Diego area. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 79 (61%D - 29%R)

Chacon (Inc.-D)	24,699	
Bridge (R)	12,236	

Unless there is a Republican tide sweeping along the California coast, Democrat Pete Chacon should win another term. His opponent is Mayor Virginia Bridge of Coronado. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 80 (55%D - 34%R)

Deddeh (Inc.-D)	31,776	
Green (R)	18,734	

In the entire Legislature, there probably isn't a smoother operator than the veteran Wadie P. Deddeh, who usually runs far ahead of other Democrats in the state's southwestern corner. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

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The Kern brand of politics – conservative, populist, humorless

By MAUREEN McCLOUD

"I've found that people in Sacramento, or anywhere outside the county, think oil wells when you discuss Kern County and its politics. They have a lot of false concepts," observes Democratic state Senator Walter Stiern. "Kern has 8,000 square miles. In Ridgecrest, a lot of PhDs are concerned about the space program. In the small towns, they want to discuss farm labor and water problems. When I go to the mountains, the voters don't want to talk about aerospace or farm labor; they're asking me to represent the interests of retired people on a fixed income. When I sit in my office in Bakersfield, I'm closer to the Colorado River than I am to Sacramento. Kern is a huge, diverse county — that makes it a hard county to represent."

Stiern is one of the few successful Democratic politicians in Kern County, despite the fact that about 59 percent of the voters are registered Democrats. Liberals in Kern have had very few victories in recent years, and the 1974 defeat of Assemblyman Ray Gonzales, now a member of the state Public Employees Relations Board, was an especially hard blow. Everyone on the political scene in Kern County agrees that it deserves its conservative image — but that it is quite different from Orange County.

Explains Stiern: "Kern is as conservative as Orange, but the base is different. For years, the population of Orange came from the overflow of places like San Francisco and especially Los Angeles. This accounts for the rapid growth. Kern is different. We're still rural and provincial. Our electorate is still made up more of 'doers,' and they're more conservative by nature." Republican Assemblyman Bill Thomas, who defeated Gonzales in 1974, agrees: "Kern County politics is based on a public society, rather than a mass society, such as Orange has become. A mass society is a one-way street. Here people know their representatives better and the voters expect feedback."

Both Gonzales and Thomas came from an element of the Kern economy that was not mentioned by Stiern — the powerful educational complex. The Kern Community College District is the largest in the country, employing more than 1,800 teachers. Nevertheless, the Kern County voter isn't necessarily well educated. Thomas claims that the voters are better informed about the issues they see as relevant to them, even though the average Kern resident has two years less education than the average person in the rest of the state.

Most Kern politicians consider the county as fundamentalist and populist as well as classically conservative. "Our county," explains Thomas, "is made up of working people. I can walk around Los Angeles at 3 p.m. on a work day and see all kinds of people away from their desks. That's not acceptable here. The three-hour lunch crowd doesn't exist, even though I'm sure many people could afford to do it. People here work hard, and they expect their representatives in government to do the same."

The populist orientation brings a highly moral, unhumorous tone to the county's politics. The $500-per-plate dinner and the celebrity fund-raiser rarely occur in Bakersfield. There is little fun at political functions. As one Democratic leader recalled, "In 1971 Ray Gonzales could draw 1,000 people to the fairgrounds for beer, mariachis and dancing. You won't find anything like that around here now."

Gonzales' rise and fall

The rise and fall of Ray Gonzales tells a great deal about the Kern community. Gonzales was elected in 1972, primarily because the most potent voice in the county, the *Bakersfield Californian*, lashed out at the Republican incumbent, Kent Stacey. Two years later, the newspaper backed Thomas, and Gonzales was out of office — even though he had risen to the chairmanship of the Assembly Education Committee after little more than a year in Sacramento. Gonzales' supporters claim that he was the victim of so many volatile issues during his term of office that he

A demonstration of the don't-hassle-me attitude of Kern County

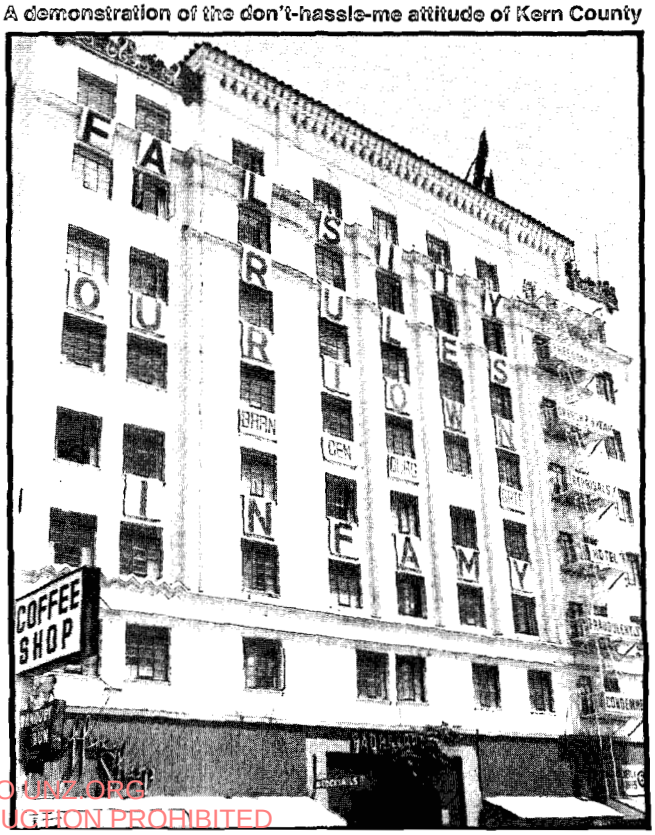

PHOTO BY MAUREEN McCLOUD

Maureen McCloud is a free-lance writer in Bakersfield.

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couldn't have pleased the voters. He cast votes on such issues as the death penalty, liberalization of marijuana laws and a farm-labor bill. Thomas seized upon Gonzales' vote against the death penalty as the central theme of his campaign. Recalls Thomas: "Ray expected to vote his conscience, as he put it, go his way and have the voters understand him. That's an arrogant, naive attitude, and it's not what he was elected to do."

Gonzales believes the death penalty was a "bogus issue and a grandstand play. Every television ad started with the death-penalty issue, but Thomas could have picked any number of others. . . These media tactics worked because they appealed to the talk-show approach to politics that's become the norm for Kern County. People there are more propagandized than informed." Gonzales now lives in Sacramento.

Gonzales feels the internal politics of the county Democratic Party hurt him more than the death-penalty issue. "Every meeting would turn into a session of petty bickering. Workers would argue for hours about whether a poster was going to be taped to the front of the podium or to the wall," he says. But party regulars point out that Gonzales literally refused to pay his party dues to the central committee. The assemblyman was billed the regular $2 a month in dues, and he refused to pay. Why? "I was an ex-officio member of the central committee. Their function was to elect Democrats. I refused to pay on principle. My duties had changed with my election, and it wasn't fair to continue to assess me dues after my own election."

'Harmonious segregation'

Cliff Garrett, a close Gonzales associate, contends that there was yet another major reason for the 1974 defeat: "Ray galvanized the minority community. They vocally and openly supported him. The conservative opinion-makers saw Ray primarily as a minority leader and spokesman, whether Ray sought it or not." And the minorities of Kern County encounter some extraordinary problems.

Perhaps only in Bakersfield can a politician like Thomas make a statement such as this without fear of political consequences: "Kern County has a vested interest in keeping people where they are, especially racially, and of instituting minimal change . . . I do not make moral judgments about the electorate. I represent what I understand to be their views. If a politician wants to enlighten people and uplift them, then he should go into preaching, or try for a judgeship."

Ted Fritts, owner and executive editor of the *Californian*, describes Bakersfield as "the most harmoniously segregated community in America. There is absolutely no crossing of racial or cultural lines. Many prominent businessmen here literally deny the existence of Blacks and Mexican-Americans. Their problems don't exist because *they* don't exist." The most dramatic confrontation between a minority group and Fritts' paper came in 1975 when the *Californian* published a 10-part series about farm labor. The final installment was entitled, "Chavez, a Hero Except in Kern." Cesar Chavez has not spoken to anyone from the newspaper since the series was published. Chavez notes that the articles were published just before the first elections were held under the new farm-labor law.

At one time, most of the elected officials representing Bakersfield were Democrats, although few have dared carry the liberal label. In the early 1960s, the Republicans had only a third of the registered voters. Bill Park, a Bakersfield geologist and GOP leader, recalls that a major grass-roots registration drive was launched, and registration rose to 39 percent in 1966. In that year, Kern Republicans made a sweep of the election, sending Kent Stacey to the Assembly, electing Bob Mathias to Congress and giving Ronald Reagan a huge margin over Pat Brown for governor. The active Republicans are likely to be in agriculture, oil or small business. Few of the oil people are from the major firms because the intrusion of big-oil influence into local politics would be resented. According to Park, Republicans will support candidates with the right free-enterprise philosophy. Once the opinion-makers are sold, the word is spread, and no amount of money will compensate for these neighbor-to-neighbor conversations.

The realistic politicians

Stiern, a veterinarian who reputedly knows every horse and cow in the district, is the lone Democratic survivor from the early 1960s. He and the late GOP Congressman William Ketchum have generally been viewed as the most realistic politicians in Kern, and each has surprising levels of support in the opposing party. Both are considered by most voters to be upstanding, highly respected men who do their jobs well. Both can display the feisty, maverick-populist brand of politics, spiced with a highly moral flavor, that Kern County voters love. When the congressional ethics bill came up for a vote last year, Ketchum was one of the few dissenters. "It wasn't a bill, it was an excuse," he charged. He said his colleagues agreed with him but didn't have the guts to go home and explain opposition votes to their constituents.

Stiern displayed his independence by questioning the feasibility of the proposed nuclear power plant near the small farming town of Wasco, at a time when the polls showed that the voters were in favor of the project. "Los Angeles has a peculiar way of dumping their problems on other counties," he declared in reference to the fact that the plant would have provided energy for the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power. As it turned out, Stiern became a hero. Public opinion turned against the plant (but not for nuclear safety reasons), and the voters overwhelmingly opposed it last March 7th.

Ketchum was on the other side of the Wasco issue. It might have hurt him significantly had he lived to face the challenge of a Stiern aide, Bob Sogge, in November.

The competition for the Ketchum seat may give some indication whether there is any hope for the Democrats in the near future. It is assumed that Stiern remains in office because of his unique popularity, not because he is a Democrat. Should he retire, Assemblyman Thomas would be expected to replace him. Democrat Cliff Garrett says there is one glimmer of hope: "The social services are increasing here now, along with allied support services, and Cal State is growing. We're seeing an influx of more educated, middle-management types. That's giving some Democrats new hope. But these new people are the most apolitical of all, and the Democrats don't seem to be very good at activating anybody."

But according to Bill Thomas, Kern won't be changing. It is the rest of the state that will start acting more like Kern. His rationale:

"Kern County only looks peculiar to others because they've moved away from the basics of life, and from basic contacts. But we have the food, the energy and the aerospace, three of the biggest basics of the future. So all those people who've been snickering at us should take another look. For example, it's now fashionable to talk about the encroachment of government on people's lives. We in Kern County have been saying it and voting it all along. I think we'll get stronger as the resentment against government rises. We know what the will of the people has always been.

"As food and energy become scarcer and more desirable, Kern County will become typical of representative government and politics. There is nothing peculiar or backward about Kern County or its politics. We're the future."

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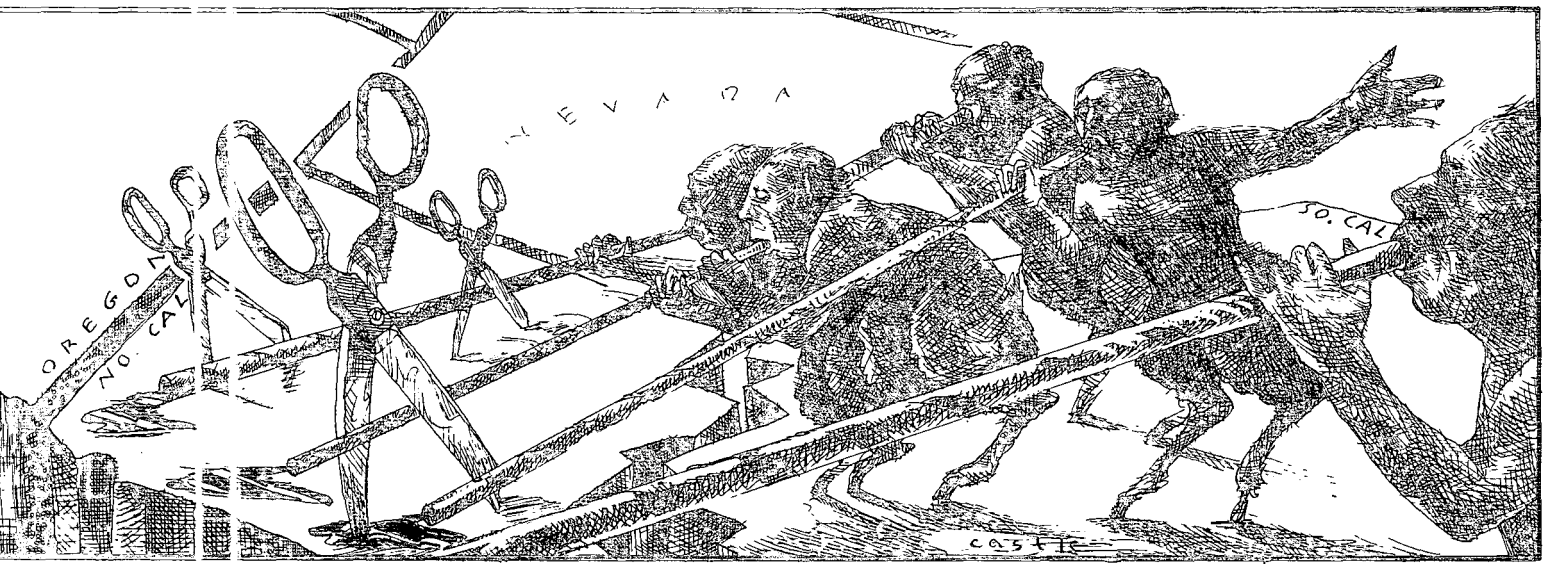
The state's budding battle over 'surplus' ground water



By BRUCE DRAVIS

When a raindrop falls in a lake or river, it becomes part of the state's surface water supply. But if it lands on a farmer's field and soaks into the ground, it joins the ground water supply. That simple difference is at the heart of one of the most controversial issues in a complex field: state water law.

This summer the Governor's Commission To Review California Water Rights Law will begin public hearings on changes it will recommend in this complicated area. The commission's findings will be important, politically and economically, to thousands of Californians who have more water than they need — and to millions who need more than they have.

In the north end of the state, where ground water is plentiful, there is fear that the commission may recommend tapping these basins for the State Water Project. Northern Californians envision their underground water supply becoming the rainbarrel for the rest of the state, just as the Owens Valley was drained for the benefit of a growing Los Angeles.

That kind of large-scale export is theoretically possible because use of ground water is considered a right that comes with land ownership, and in most of the state landowners can pump as much as they wish and are able, with only vague restrictions. Northerners are leery of limiting that right, especially if it appears local ground water might be used elsewhere. But practically speaking, Los Angeles or any other water-scarce entity could buy land today in the north and pump its underground water south.

Already introduced into the Legislature is a measure that would give the state Water Resources Control Board the power to identify ground water basins and to review local ground water management plans. Introduced by Senator John Nejedly of Walnut Creek, the bill is designed with the problems of the water-poor San Joaquin Valley and Southern California in mind. These areas are badly overdrafted, with water users taking millions more acre feet of water out of the ground than seeps back.

Nejedly realizes the bill jumps the gun on the Governor's commission, which should have a final version of its recommendations for legislation at the end of the year. But he introduced the bill because the 1976-77 drought exacerbated the San Joaquin Valley overdraft problem. He advocates management plans operated by basin-wide agencies, rather than by counties or water districts, and believes these agencies would prevent competition among users for the scarce water.

Three incidents

Existing water laws tend to promote this competition in a "race to the pumphouse" atmosphere. It is one reason that Governor Jerry Brown referred to the water rights laws as "archaic" when he announced the commission's formation in late 1976. Brown's comment created a furor in Northern California, because it was sandwiched between two other water controversies. Northerners regarded these three events as evidence of an attempt by the state to take over

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the water in the north for the use of the more populous and politically powerful south. The other two incidents:

- In November 1976 the state Department of Water Resources held a hearing in Chico on its Delta Alternatives Study, which in its final form was added to Senator Ruben Ayala's Peripheral Canal bill to become the hotly contested SB 346. In its original proposal, DWR suggested removing northern basin ground water for export in the State Water Project to flush the Sacramento-San Joaquin delta. Farmers and local governmental officials were incensed, and 300 of them attended the hearing to protest the plan. Although they didn't realize it then, their efforts were effective: The ground water export proposal was dropped from subsequent reports.
- Then a bill, written by DWR and carried by Ayala, went into effect. This mandated that well owners document their ground water use for the previous five years with the Water Resources Control Board. Northerners saw this as the first step to limiting the amount of ground water landowners could pump from their lands.

Although the three incidents were unrelated, they aroused concern in the north, and throughout the summer of 1977 local governments and citizens' committees prepared battle plans. Then in August a case arose in Yolo County that illustrated the problem of trying to deal with ground water surpluses and exports under existing law.

Anderson Farms, Incorporated (Andco) attempted to ship ground water from its land in Yolo to a buyer in Kern County. Andco said it had sufficient water for its own needs and was willing to export the water beneath its land for the price the buyer was willing to pay. The Water Resources Control Board saw some sensible aspects to the plan: The cost of pumping and transporting the water was less than the value of the Kern crops, and it appeared there was enough water in the basin to support the export. However, the board staff concluded the pumping would lower the water table within a 15-mile radius, affect ground water quality and "poach" Sacramento River water that would otherwise flow into the basin.

The board voided the Andco deal on the grounds that the pumping would constitute an "unreasonable method of diversion" and a violation of the drought-emergency delta standards. But because the board does not have the authority, it could not address any of the problems it identified or the problems adjoining landowners would have faced if Andco had lowered the water table.

In the wake of this, Butte and Glenn counties passed ordinances prohibiting the exportation of ground water outside county boundaries without county permission. But most water law experts say such ordinances probably would not stand up in court.

"Ground water can't be treated as separate from surface water," says Harrison Dunning, a University of California law professor who serves as chief of staff for the water rights commission. Ground water is simply surface water that percolates into the soil and ought not to be singled out for special treatment, he says.

The same message comes from DWR Director Ron Robie: "I don't think the 'casual' management of ground water works . . . If we had managed our surface water 'casually' there would be less economic development in the state."

Robie favors instead the flexible use of all the state's water in a program of "conjunctive use." An ex-officio member of the water rights commission, Robie maintains that flexible management is essential if the state is to make the most efficient use of its water resources.

"A lot of conjunctive use just refers to integrated management of surface and ground water," says Dunning. A mechanism for a transfer of water, as in the Andco case, doesn't mandate its sale, he says. If a landowner in the north is unwilling to sell because buyers are unwilling to meet the asking price, that would still be conjunctive use, according to Dunning.

The commission is looking at the principle of "willing sellers" in its examination of the ground-water transfer question. The commission staff is also looking at area-of-origin legislation, to protect against future Owens Valleys.

Attorney Paul Minasian of Oroville, who has represented several Northern California water districts before the commission, predicts the commission will recommend law changes to allow water transfers on a market basis, under certain conditions. Those conditions might include a determination that there is a ground-water surplus, that there is adequate protection for the area of origin and that there would be no harm to the environment.

The surplus question is tricky: If a basin contains 20 million acre feet of ground water and the landowners want to use only 10 million acre feet in order to keep the water table high, is there a surplus? Landowners in the north want the question of surplus to be decided by local agencies, not by the state.

Studying possibilities

New DWR studies on the possibilities of surface water and ground water exchanges are nearing completion. They include a mathematical model of the 22 million acre feet of ground water basins in the Sacramento Valley, a model which Robie calls "the kind of detailed study we need before we have conjunctive use."

Robie hopes the study will show whether it is feasible for ground water basins in the north to be lowered beyond current levels, thus creating more storage space underground and capturing water that would otherwise run off. With state water needs expected to increase three million acre-feet by the year 2000, this use of natural basins could supply some of the additional storage capacity required, he says.

Despite DWR assurances that it does not plan to export ground water, northerners are wary. Last December a DWR engineer was quoted as saying northern ground water could be used if the state had a third year of drought. This provoked a flurry of protests from northerners and hasty denials from Sacramento. With the recent rains and the end of the drought, the protests have quieted, but Northern Californians are still skeptical. They are haunted by the spectre of the Owens Valley.

• • • OMISSION • • •

The name of Senator Newton Russell was erroneously omitted from a list of most conservative senators in "The Rating Game" on page 146 of the May issue.

Are you singing the Postal Service Blues?

This issue of the **California Journal** was mailed on June 30th. We'd like to know if you did not receive your copy within a reasonable time — by July 5th in Sacramento, July 7th in the San Francisco Bay Area and July 10th in Southern California. If your copy arrived after these dates, please let us know when you received your issue. This information will help us help the Postal Service provide improved delivery. Please send these notes to the **California Journal** Subscription Department, 1617 10th St., Sacramento 95814.

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The non-income tax

Just a week before California voters put the pinch on local government via Proposition 13, the California Supreme Court gave cities a major new source of income -- the employee-license fee or occupation tax. In a 5-2 decision, the court upheld a proposed Oakland levy of one percent on the gross earnings of individuals who work in the city. The tax was originally designed as a means of collecting revenues from those who live outside Oakland and work in the city.

The decision opened the way for other cities to enact similar occupation taxes. The Oakland levy, which was adopted in 1974 and which may not go into effect for some time, applies only to wages and salaries over $6,500 a year. Domestic workers are exempt, as is income from dividends, interest and capital gains.

The unsigned majority opinion in *Weekes v. City of Oakland* said that the Oakland levy was similar to a business license fee and not an income tax, as claimed by plaintiff Beresford David Weekes. The court added that a city has a right to charge workers a fee for "the privilege" of earning a living in Oakland. The majority included Chief Justice Rose Elizabeth Bird and Justices William Clark, Frank Richardson Mathew Tobriner and Wiley Manuel. The dissenters were Justice Stanley Mosk and Superior Court Judge Homer Thompson of Santa Clara County, sitting on assignment.

Weekes argued that the levy would be an income tax in disguise. Countered the majority: "We conclude that the fee is what it purports to be, namely an occupation tax substantially resembling the type of municipal fee long approved by us . . ." Thompson wrote a 42-page dissent claiming that the form of the tax and the fact that it would be withheld from paychecks proved that it was an income tax. State law prohibits cities from collecting income taxes.

Fourth time for the fifth

In a surprisingly unanimous decision, the Supreme Court threw out the state's 39-year-old fair trade law on alcoholic beverages. On three previous occasions, the issue had been before the court, and the law was upheld all three times. The court this time reached back to the federal Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 to find the California law in restraint of trade. It has been estimated that California consumers will save $81 million a year in the cost of liquor, wine and beer as a result of the decision. Owners of small package stores have claimed that they would be forced out of business by supermarkets and large chains if the fair-trade law were abolished.

The decision was written by Justice Mosk. He was joined by Justices Tobriner, Clark, Richardson and Frank C. Newman, and two appellate justices sitting on assignment, Wakefield Taylor and John T. Racanelli. Chief Justice Bird did not participate in the decision because she had been involved in the issue as secretary of agriculture and services before being appointed to the bench.

The case, *Rice v. ABC Appeals Board*, involved the practice of Bob's Market in San Francisco of selling alcoholic beverages below the minimum price. The Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control suspended the firm's license for 10 days, but the ABC appeals board reversed the decision and declared that the fair-trade law was unconstitutional. The ABC department appealed that ruling.

The high court said in conclusion: "We find that the policies underlying the Sherman Act are clearly violated by the liquor price maintenance laws, and that on the other side of the balance there is doubt whether such laws promote temperance, there is a clear national trend against fair trade laws, and there exist means other than mandatory price fixing to achieve the ends which those laws seek to attain."

The right to counsel

In a 5-2 decision, the Supreme Court held that the *Miranda* decision prevents police from questioning juvenile suspects once they request that their probation officers be present. As a result of *In re Michael C.*, the court overruled a lower-court decision committing 16-year-old Michael C. to the California Youth Authority for murder. The court found that Michael's request was similar to an adult's demand to see a lawyer.

The majority opinion was written by Tobriner and signed by Mosk, Richardson and Newman. Mosk filed a concurring opinion, joined by Bird. Clark wrote a dissenting opinion, joined by Manuel.

Newsmakers

As Maine goes . . .

Artist **Lowell Darling** of Davis, who finished ninth out of nine Democratic candidates in the gubernatorial primary election, refused to concede defeat. Declared Darling: "I'm counting on the out-of-state vote." . . . Singer **Anita Bryant** announced she would not campaign for the November ballot measure in California that would bar homosexuals from teaching in the public schools. The initiative, sponsored by state Senator **John Briggs,** has qualified for the ballot, according to Secretary of State **March Fong Eu.** However, some of Briggs' petitions were being challenged in the courts. The Secretary of State also announced that state Senator **Alan Robbins** had failed to obtain enough signatures to qualify his initiative designed to ban mandatory busing of school children.

Former San Francisco Supervisor **Robert Mendelsohn,** who lost one Department of Interior job over campaign-fund irregularities, was hired as a $47,500-a-year assistant to Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus. This appointment, unlike the first, does not require Senate confirmation . . . United States Senator Alan Cranston selected Los Angeles attorney **Mariana Pfaelzer** to become a federal district judge in Los Angeles under a new "merit" selection system. Pfaelzer served as treasurer of Governor Brown's 1976 presidential campaign.

Appointments: **William J. Miller,** a Berkeley sanitary engineer, to the state Water Resources Control Board; **David Loberg,** executive director of Agnews State Hospital, as director of the new state Developmental Services Department; **James E. Baiz,** a Monterey Park marketing executive, as executive officer of the state Athletic Commission.

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The real 1978 legislative session

Suddenly on June 7th a new legislative session was underway. With the passage of the Jarvis-Gann initiative, bills that carried appropriations lost much of their allure overnight. Those that held out the hope of reduced costs or increased state income became more attractive. Issues that had been the subject of fierce debate were no longer worth fighting about. Nothing counted except finding an acceptable way to cope with the ramifications of Proposition 13.

Legislative fiscal committees had been working on the budget for almost five months. For the most part, their work was wasted because a new austerity spending program had to be considered in the wake of the June 6th election. Governor Brown called for a freeze on state hiring, a ban on pay increases, cuts in some of his own pet programs and a variety of other appropriation reductions. The Legislature created an unusual leadership conference committee to decide how to allocate surplus state funds to local government. With only a week left before the start of the new fiscal year on July 1st, the committee assembled a bipartisan package to bail local government out of its impending deficit. It was promptly enacted into law. The highlights:

• ***Schools*** would get $2.267 billion, counties $1.48 billion, cities $250 million, and special districts $125 million — for a total of $4.1 billion.

• Another $900 million would be made available for loans to help ***local agencies*** out of temporary cash-flow problems.

• The state would take over the complete cost, presumably on a permanent basis, of ***Medi-Cal and welfare programs.*** These are now funded in part by the counties.

• ***Property tax revenues*** would be divided among local governmental units on a pro rata basis.

• ***Welfare recipients*** would not receive any increase in benefits unless public employees get increases, and a decision on that was delayed for debate on the state budget.

• ***Local police and fire services*** would not be reduced, but local government would be allowed to make these departments operate more efficiently.

Sponsors of bills expanding gambling in California tried anew to win passage for their proposals. But even the fund shortage caused by 13 wasn't sufficient impetus to put California in the Nevada-type gambling business or to launch a state lottery. Senator Alan Robbins had a new argument for his constitutional amendment designed to halt the school busing program in Los Angeles: the need to conserve cash that is about to be spent for the transportation of pupils.

The biggest challenge facing the Legislature was being able to say "no" to some of the interest groups seeking their "fair share" of the surplus pie. Lawmakers were also in a quandary about the sagacity of placing on the ballot in November a proposition that would in one of several ways pare down the effects of the Jarvis-Gann initiative primarily by taking the benefits away from business interests.

Lawmakers were given a difficult assignment — to reshape the entire priority system of state and local government in a mere three weeks. Obviously, a complete and deliberate job was impossible, and the real test is scheduled for 1979. Then most of the state's surplus will have been consumed after filling temporarily the local government plates emptied by Proposition 13.

Senate (26D, 14R)	SB 1645	SB 1790	SCA 42	SCA 61	SCA 46	SB 1856	SB 1886	SB 1508	SB 1446	SB 1481	SB 1581	SCA 36
Alquist (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	*	*	N	N	N
Ayala (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Behr (R)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Beverly (R)	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N	*	Y
Briggs (R)	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	*	N	*	N
Campbell (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	N	
Carpenter, D. (R)	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N	N	N	*	N
Carpenter, P. (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	Y	*	N	
Cusanovich (R)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	*	N	Y	N	*	*
Deukmejian (R)	Y	N	Y	*	*	Y	*	*	Y	N	N	N
Dills (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	*	N	N	N
Dunlap (D)	Y	*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Foran (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Garmendi (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Garcia (D)	*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Greene (D)	Y	N	N	*	N	*	*	Y	Y	*	Y	*
Gregorio (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Holden (D)	*	*	N	*	N	*	*	Y	*	N	*	*
Holmdahl (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Johnson (R)	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	*	N	*	

	SB 1645	SB 1790	SCA 42	SCA 61	SCA 46	SB 1856	SB 1886	SB 1508	SB 1446	SB 1481	SB 1581	SCA 36
Marks (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Mills (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	*	Y	N	
Nejedly (R)	*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nimmo (R)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N	*	N	Y	*	N	Y
Petris (D)	*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Presley (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	
Rains (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y
Richardson (R)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	N	*	N	N	Y
Robbins (D)	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Roberti (D)	Y	Y	N	*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Rodda (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	*	Y	Y	Y	N
Russell (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Sieroty (D)	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Smith (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Song (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	*	Y	*	*
Stiern (D)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Stull (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	*	Y
Vuich (D)	*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	
Wilson (D)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	N
Zenovich (D)	Y	N	Y	*	N	*	*	N	N	N	N	N

VOTING RECORDS

Listed here are the votes of legislators on recent major roll calls through mid-June. Votes selected involve issues of major importance and issues on which there was a major division of opinion, or both.

Y - Yes **N - No**
*** — Absent or not voting**

A ⅔ vote is required for urgency measures, constitutional amendments, and appropriations.

Assembly: 41 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (⅔ = 54 votes)

Senate: 21 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (⅔ = 27 votes)

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Senate

BUSINESS

SB 1645 (Ayala) — Eliminates liability for persons who furnish alcoholic beverages to intoxicated persons in event of injury to third party. Passed 27-5.

SB 1790 (Campbell) — Permits health-food-store operators to give nutritional advice. Passed 21-14.

FINANCE

SCA 42 (Dekmejian) — Proposed constitutional amendment to limit annual expenditures by governmental agencies. Passed 29-11.

SCA 61 (Garamendi) — Proposed constitutional amendment authorizing the Legislature to grant five-year property-tax exemptions for industrial or commercial properties that have been rehabilitated. Passed 27-4.

MISCELLANEOUS

SCA 46 (Robbins) — Proposed constitutional amendment prohibiting the state from imposing stricter student-busing standards than have been set by the federal courts. Passed 28-10.

SB 1856 (Foran) — Authorizes local air-pollution-control districts to institute mandatory vehicle inspection programs. Passed 21-10.

SB 1886 (Beverly) — Prohibits Director of Health from suspending a nursing home or health facility license without court order. Passed 21-11.

SB 1508 (Holden) — Requires police departments to maintain records of citizen complaints against officers for seven years. Failed 19-14 (21 votes required).

SB 1446 (Presley) — Provides that an auto accident need not be reported to the Department of Motor Vehicles unless it involves death, personal injury or $400 in property damage. Passed 21-10.

SB 1481 (Song) — Prohibits the use of high-altitude compression chambers to kill dogs and cats. Passed 21-16.

SB 1581 (Holmdahl) — Makes bobcat hunting illegal, and prohibits the importation or sale of bobcat pelts. Failed 17-13 (21 votes required).

SCA 36 (Stull) — Proposed constitutional amendment requiring that the state Supreme Court reapportion legislative districts under certain circumstances. Failed 9-26.

Assembly (57D, 23R)	AB 2391	AB 3595	AB 2239	AB 3155	AB 3767	AB 3253	AB 3362	AB 2321	AB 2967	AB 2262
Agnos (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Alatorre (D)	*	N	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Antonovich (R)	*	*	*	Y	Y	*	Y	N	*	*
Arnett (R)	*	N	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	Y	Y
Bane (D)	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
Bannai (R)	N	Y	N	Y	*	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Bates (D)	Y	N	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*
Berman (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Boatwright (D)	N	*	N	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	*
Brown (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	*	Y	*	*	Y	Y
Calvo (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Chacon (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Chappie (R)	N	N	N	Y	*	N	N	Y	N	Y
Chel (D)	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Chimbole (D)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Cline (R)	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Collier (R)	Y	N	Y	*	Y	N	Y	*	N	Y
Cordova (D)	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Craven (R)	N	N	N	*	*	N	N	*	N	N
Cullen (D)	*	N	Y	*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dannemeyer (R)	N	N	N	*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Deddeh (D)	N	Y	N	N	Y	*	N	*	N	Y
Dixon (D)	*	*	*	Y	*	*	Y	*	Y	*
Duffy (R)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Egeland (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ellis (R)	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Fazio (D)	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Fenton (D)	*	N	*	N	*	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Gage (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Goggin (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Greene (D)	N	*	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y
Gualco (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*	N	N	Y	Y
Hallett (R)	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Hart (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Hayden (R)	N	N	N	Y	*	N	N	Y	N	N
Hughes (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Imbrecht (R)	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Ingalls (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	*	N	*	Y	Y
Kapiloff (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y	Y
Keene (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Keysor (D)	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Knox (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lancaster (R)	N	*	N	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y	N
Lanterman (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	*	N	Y	*	*
Lehman (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Levine (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Lewis (R)	N	N	N	*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Lockyer (D)	Y	N	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Maddy (R)	N	*	N	Y	*	*	*	*	N	*
Mangers (D)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
McAlister (D)	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
McCarthy (D)	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
McVittie (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mello (D)	*	N	*	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y
Miller (D)	Y	N	Y	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Montoya (D)	N	*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	*
Mori (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	*	Y	N
Nestande (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Papan (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Perino (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Priolo (R)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Robinson (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Roos (D)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rosenthal (D)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ryan (R)	N	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y
Statham (R)	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Stirling (R)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Suitt (D)	*	N	Y	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y	N
Thomas, V. (D)	N	N	*	Y	N	N	*	Y	N	Y
Thomas, W. (R)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Thurman (D)	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Torres (D)	Y	N	*	Y	Y	N	*	Y	Y	Y
Tucker (D)	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Vasconcellos (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y
Vicencia (D)	N	N	Y	Y	N	*	Y	*	Y	*
Waters, M. (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Waters, N. (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wornum (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wray (D)	*	*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Young (D)	N	N	Y	*	Y	N	N	N	N	N

Assembly

EDUCATION

AB 2391 (Egeland) — Prohibits use of textbooks containing illustrations with identifiable name brands or trademarks. Failed 30-38.

AB 3595 (Ingalls) — Establishes standards for new law schools and requires that all law schools opened after 1979 be non-profit. Failed 20-47.

ELECTIONS

AB 2239 (Lockyer) — Requires that any special election called by the governor be held over a two-day weekend, with polls open both on Saturday and on Sunday. Passed 41-32.

AB 3155 (Thomas) — Increases the maximum amount of cash and/or anonymous contributions to candidates from $50 to $100. Passed 59-15.

AB 3767 (Vasconcellos) — Prohibits candidates from using campaign contributions for personal use. Passed 47-11.

JUSTICE

AB 3253 (Levine) — Prohibits courts from requiring that a sex offender be sterilized as a condition of probation. Passed 41-27. (Later reconsidered and returned to committee.)

AB 3362 (Maxine Waters) — Makes the proceeds of a personal-injury award received by either spouse during a marriage community property. Passed 50-25.

MISCELLANEOUS

AB 2321 (Imbrecht) — Prohibits property owners from allowing greenery on their property from blocking the path of sunlight to a solar collector on another person's property. Passed 43-22.

AB 2967 (Brown) — Appropriates $71 million to cover Medi-Cal deficits, including $24 million for abortions. Failed 44-29 (54 votes required).

AB 2262 (Ingalls) — Makes the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit permanent. Passed 59-11.

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CHARTING THE LEGISLATURE

The following is a list of significant bills pending before the Legislature:

SUBJECT	BILLS	DESCRIPTION	STATUS
BUSING	SCA 46 (Robbins)	Proposed constitutional amendment to prohibit the use of stricter state standards for pupil busing than have been imposed by federal courts.	*Passed Senate. In Assembly Education Committee.*
EMPLOYMENT	AB 2744 (Berman)	Authorizes local government employees and public agencies to negotiate agency-shop agreements.	*Passed Assembly. On Senate floor.*
GOVERNMENT SPENDING	SCA 42 (Deukmejian)	Proposed constitutional amendment to limit the annual expenditures of governmental agencies and to require the state to reimburse local governments for new programs or services mandated by the state.	*Passed Senate. In Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee.*
HOUSING	AB 1032 (Berman)	Prohibits discrimination against students in the rental of housing accommodations.	*Passed Assembly. On Senate floor.*
JARVIS-GANN	SB 154 (Petris)	Legislative vehicle for reimbursing local governments and school districts for the loss of revenues resulting from the passage of the Jarvis-Gann property tax reduction initiative.	*Signed by Governor.*
	SB 1883 (Gregorio) and AB 3811 (Perino)	Provide for the state assumption of counties' share of health and welfare program costs.	*SB 1883 is in the Senate Finance Committee; AB 3811 is in the Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee.*
	AB 3813 (Dannemeyer)	Appropriates $2.7 billion for the support of school districts.	*Assembly Education Committee.*
	AB 3814 (Dannemeyer)	Appropriates $1.7 billion for the support of county governments.	*Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee.*
	AB 3815 (Dannemeyer)	Appropriates $387 million for the support of city governments.	*Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee.*
	AB 3820 (Priolo)	Conforms statutory law to Proposition 13.	*Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee.*
	ACA 92 (Dannemeyer)	Repeals $7,000 homeowner's property tax exemption.	*Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee.*
	SB 2218 (Greene)	Establishes lottery procedure for laying off public employees.	*Senate Public Employment and Retirement Committee.*
	SB 2223 (Gregorio)	Creates Local Vital Services Fund to finance essential local government services expected to suffer budgetary cutbacks.	*Senate Local Government Committee.*
	SB 2224 (Paul Carpenter)	Requires owners of rental property to pass on property tax reduction to renters produced by Proposition 13.	*Senate Revenue and Taxation Committee. Senate refused to suspend rules allowing bill to have immediate committee hearing.*
MINORS	SB 1473 (Behr)	Allows qualified minors, whose parents do not object, to obtain a court declaration of emancipation.	*Assembly Judiciary Committee.*
	AB 2399 (Imbrecht)	Allows minors of certain intellectual levels to consent to mental-health treatment.	*On Senate floor.*
SMOKING	AB 1222 (Vasconcellos)	Prohibits smoking in retail food-production establishments and grocery stores while such outlets are open to the public.	*On Senate floor.*
SPEED LIMIT	AB 2262 (Ingalls)	Makes the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit in California permanent.	*Signed by Governor.*
TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS	AB 1068 (Fazio)	Establishes procedure for the administrative adjudication of traffic violations.	*On Senate floor.*

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By Leo Rennert

How Carter spells relief (J-A-R-V-I-S)

From President Carter on down, the federal establishment is extending warm sympathy — and little else — for California's struggle with multi-billion-dollar revenue losses from Proposition 13. Even before the primary, it was clear there would be no federal "bailout." Other parts of the nation might cheer California's heroic leap toward frugality. But charity, you understand, begins at home. We've got to look out for Number One; after all, isn't that one of the lessons of Jarvis-Gann?

AT THE WHITE HOUSE, the 2-to-1 passage of the tax-chopping measure has made the Carter camp feel less worried about Jerry Brown's presidential ambitions. With the governor bogged down in Sacramento, presidential aides are breathing a bit more easily. Having felt Brown's sting on issues ranging from Israel to nuclear power, they are quite happy to contemplate his slide in the polls and the king-size budget crisis at his doorstep. "They love to see him sweat," said one California official after a visit to 1600 Pennsylvan a Avenue the day after the primary.

The President was quick to rule out any special Washington rescue operation for local governments in California. Carter praised Brown's efforts to mitigate the Jarvis-Gann impact on essential public services. But getting in a dig of his own, he also took note of the Brown Administration's huge budget surplus that proved a red flag to California taxpayers. It was Carter's way of highlighting what he has seen all along as a chink in Brown's armor, that the ex-seminarian is not as good a business manager as the former peanut farmer.

But looking toward 1980, nobody is quite ready yet to write Brown's political obituary. Strategists in both parties think Jarvis-Gann could prove a major political plus for the Governor if he can harness the taxpayers' revolt and trim down government in California with a minimum of dislocations. Such an assessment, however, overlooks the fact that Brown, in the role of "Jerry Jarvis," may cut his last remaining ties with the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Liberal activists who would be the shocktroops of any pre-convention challenge to Carter are bitter about the dismantling of social programs and the anti-goverment tide that both Carter and Brown have tried to turn into political assets. Two weeks after the California primary, George McGovern told the annual convention of Americans for Democratic Action that liberals cannot coexist with politicians "seeking a mandate to govern by running against government" — a remark targeted at both Carter and Brown. Joseph Rauh, an ADA vice president and battle-scarred veteran of many liberal crusades, underscored the point when he described Senator Kennedy as the "only alternative" to Carter. If Brown and Carter fit the new Jarvis-Gann mold, as each claims he does, why should Democrats who still believe that government has a major role to play in solving social and economic ills pick one over the other?

Politicians are by nature flexible beings, and Brown's adaptability to Proposition 13 has been reflected at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue. Carter immediately claimed that his tax-cutting and anti-inflation policies put him at the head of the new parade. On Capitol Hill, where help for the poor already had taken a backseat to middle-class concerns before the California primary, there also was an intensified scramble to hop on the bandwagon.

Senator Alan Cranston, who had opposed Proposition 13, rushed out a statement after its passage which sounded like the confession of a penitent convert. California's senior senator, who also doubles as majority whip, called for less government spending, a cut in federal taxes, a more responsive bureaucracy and an all-out attack on inflation. Conservatives, who see Propositon 13 as the Moses that will lead them out of the political desert, think Cranston will not be able to shed his liberal image so quickly and may be vulnerable when he seeks a third term in 1980. Republican Senator S. I. Hayakawa, who blasted Cranston as a big spender before the primary, welcomed Jarvis-Gann as the perfect training aid for politicians. It will teach them "the fine art of subtraction," he said.

As expected, there has been more rhetoric than action in the congressional response to Proposition 13. House members voted to dispense with free plants from the National Botanic Garden and cast a few symbolic economy votes with little, if any, impact on the federal budget. Having met the Jarvis-Gann test in this fashion, they then turned around and added millions of dollars in extra "pork barrel" projects to a bloated public works appropriations bill Carter has promised to veto.

California lawmakers have been gripped by a general sense of impotence about the huge loss of federal dollars the state is likely to suffer from Jarvis-Gann. Brown wants to recover $2 billion in extra federal income taxes Californians will pay because of lower property-tax deductions. The state also could lose several additional billions of dollars in federal aid programs which require local matching grants or self-destruct if local jurisdictions cut back on their tax efforts. The congressional delegation, which sees little chance for major federal relief, has set up a task force to wrestle with these problems. So far there is little enthusiasm for an all-out campaign to save threatened federal dollars, but Brown can be expected to apply strong pressure to spur the delegation into stronger action.

TO SLOW THE SUDDEN HEMORRHAGING of California's treasury, State Controller Ken Cory asked Brown, Cranston and Hayakawa to reconsider their support of a U.S.-British treaty that would have slashed California taxes of multi-national firms. Cory said the treaty would have given away badly needed state funds to thriving foreign firms, including British Petroleum, and would have cost the state more than $100 million in annual revenues. Cranston, sensing a new political climate, rejected Cory's request by insisting that the tax-cut provision of the treaty was necessary "now more than ever" to improve California's business climate and to attract more foreign investments. But the Senate rewrote the treaty to protect California revenues June 23rd, and Howard Jarvis, the populist hero, lost his opportunity for a knighthood from Queen Elizabeth for channeling more California dollars to Britain.

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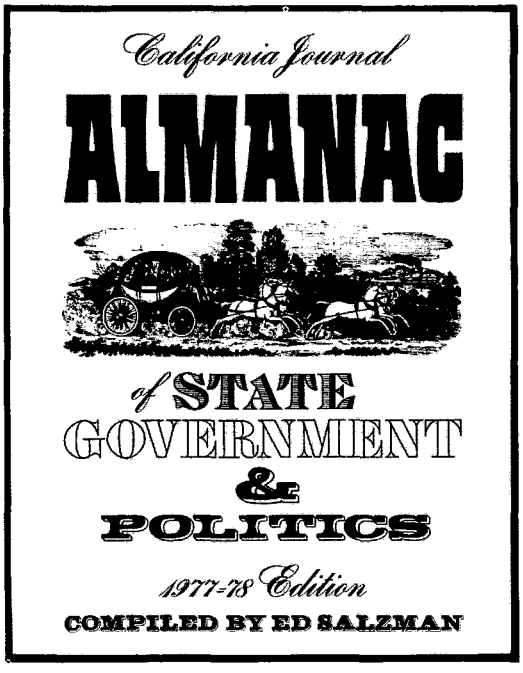

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Tax reform means don't tax you, don't tax me, tax that fellow under the tree.

— Russell Long

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